

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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SPIRIT OF SLAVERY.

Extract

From a speech of the Rev. Mr. Wright, a colored man, at the late New York Anniversary, as published in the Friend of Man. "The heart knoweth its own bitterness."

"I confess it is somewhat embarrassing for a man to speak of his own degradation. But when he feels the pressure of such disabilities as I have mentioned, when, whether at home or abroad, in the parlor, the stage coach, the bar-room, or the public mart, he feels the pressure of the chain, how can he be silent? Why is all this? Sir, it is to be traced to the spirit of slavery existing in the breasts of men, even in those who think they have sympathy for the oppressed. This is the great support of the system of slavery. Oh! there is enough in this feeling to cause tears of blood to flow from the eyes of those who possess it. It is this that deprives man of his manhood; brings him down from that elevated position which God designed he should occupy, to a place with chattles and things. Oh! if we had time to delineate the effects of this spirit, we should keep you here till midnight, stating facts, and telling tales of woe, the thought of which makes our spirits to sink within us. I will state but a few facts, illustrative of the effect of the prevalence of the cord of caste.

Miss BETSY STOCKTON, a colored lady, who accompanied Mrs. STUART on the first mission, I think, to the Sandwich Islands, was travelling for her health. In coming up the North River, although under the protection of a white gentleman, and although an intelligent and philanthropic woman, who had crossed the ocean, to aid in enlightening and converting the heathen, she was not permitted a place beneath the deck to lay her head in the damp night. By this exposure her health was injured, and her life endangered.

Mrs. SMITH was a pious black woman, and lived in Newburg. She was going down the North river, on the steamboat. Night began to come on, and she thought of the infant she held in her arms. She went to the captain of the steamboat, and pleaded for a place where, with her dear babe, she might be comfortable, and its life and health not be jeopardized. Such a place she was refused. She arrived at the city of New York. Her child died after a short period she died herself, from the cold she then caught.

I might also mention the case of the Rev. JEREMIAH GLOCKSTER, former pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. Eight years since, he traveled on his professional tour, through New England—was excluded from the cabin of the steamboat at night. Although in poor health, like his master, he had not where to lay his head. His exposure threw him into a decline, and he died.

I might relate other painful facts, to illustrate the bearing of this prejudice upon the life of its victims. The following I state by request. In the fall of 1828, a gentleman and lady, friends of mine, with a little infant, came from Princeton, New Jersey, to visit me at Schenectady. On the steamboat, between New York and Albany, they were denied a place to lay their heads at night, when they arrived at Albany, they sought a passage in the stage for Schenectady. The woman, being light-complexioned, would pass for white. She was interrogated very promptly whether she wished a passage. She told them she did. Her baggage was put on the stage. But when she spoke to her husband, and they discovered that he was a dark man, the baggage was taken off the stage, and they refused a passage in it. She sat down upon the baggage, with her babe in her arms, and wept, when some benevolent friend, seeing their condition, kindly procured for them a private vehicle, at an expense of four dollars, which conveyed them to my residence in Schenectady. On their return from their visit, they went to Albany, expecting to meet the steamboat Albany, which, at that time, was very favorably disposed toward the people of color. But, unfortunately, they were a few moments too late. Their condition then was lamentable. I went from steamboat to steamboat; made great efforts to procure a passage for them, so that the mother, with her infant, might return comfortably; but in vain was my attempt. Whilst her husband left her and went home, I was compelled to return with her to my residence at Schenectady. When the boat returned to Albany, with my companion I accompanied her to Princeton. On our return, between Brunswick and New York, we were overtaken by a tremendous gale and rain; and in consequence of my companion being excluded from the ladies' apartment, she caught a violent cold, which detained us several days in New York. Now despair almost drank up my spirits. I went from steamboat to steamboat, from line to line, to obtain a place, even below the deck, so that our lives might not be endangered. I made interest with my friends to strive for me, but in vain. At length we went on board of the steamboat, and were compelled to sit on deck. This was in the fall; ice was in the river, and the weather was cold. At night, my wife was permitted to sleep with the cook, in a dirty apartment near the machinery, whilst I was permitted—and thankful was I for the privilege—to lie down on the deck, inclosed as it is in cold weather. In the morning we rejoiced and blessed God together for the preservation of our lives. But, alas! my wife had received the fatal shaft, and she died after a few months, in consequence of the cold she then caught. Here are the results of prejudice; and such things are constantly taking place. Now I call upon all present to ask themselves, if here they ought not to remember those who are in bonds as bound with them. How would the men and women of this Convention feel and act, were they similarly circumstanced? How would the members of this meeting act, were they under the disabilities of the colored man?

As I said before, we have to run the gantlet, Sabbath before last, I had occasion to visit New Rochelle, to see my family, who were then in that place. I attended the Presbyterian Church in the morning—took a place in the gallery. I was requested to leave my seat, and occupy another place. I did not think it proper, however, to move, and thus sanction my own degradation. In the evening, I thought I would go and hear the Methodist brethren. They understood I was a minister from New York. They treated me with kindness, and invited me to address the meeting. I assented; and no sooner did I commence, than there was a rush at the door; and the cry was raised, "Bring him out!" After I left the house, I was surrounded by a number of young men, who exhibited the spirit of foul friends, rather than of human beings. I thought it unsafe to go to my vehicle. I waited till my friend brought it, and myself and wife got in. Sir, the sufferings of the colored man are fully known only to him who experiences them.

I came up on the steamboat Rochester, on Monday morning. When I came on board, all was pleasant, and I was in hopes to reach Albany without insult and out-

rage. Aware of the danger of insult, I took my lady and went on the promenade deck. We set down in a secluded place and amused ourselves, and meant to occupy that place alone. Feeling unwell, I went to the bar to get something to relieve me. Just at that moment, the Captain of the steamboat, Capt. St. John, told me not to be running across the steamboat. "Don't allow that on the boats. You ought to know your place. Don't let me tell you again.—Don't you keep prancing across the deck. The next thing you will be in the ladies' cabin." I replied, "I think not, sir." I felt apprehensive that I should be arrested. These things are painful for me to communicate to an audience, but I mention them to illustrate this wicked feeling. These circumstances occurred on my way here; I have been received with a great deal of courtesy and kindness in Utica.

Sir, I do not desire to make a speech; I am stating only a few plain facts. This is matter of fact business. Who does not know that the calumny, proscription and persecution to which abolitionists have been subjected, has been on this very point? Why has New York been the scene of so much confusion? Why have the lives of abolitionists been jeopardized; the sanctuary invaded; and property destroyed? Why has all manner of evil been spoken against these men? Simply because they have spoken against these men! Simply because they have died. It has been because they dared to love man, whatever be his condition. Like the good Samaritan, they have gone to the stranger, taken him up, and bound up his wounds. Because they have done this, because they look upon prejudice as the bane of the land, so much opposition has been excited, so much persecution aroused. Do you suppose that slavery would exist another year, if this prejudice were eradicated? We rejoice that a war has been commenced against it. Our hearts expand at the thought, that in a few years, our sons and daughters may enjoy the privileges of education, and occupy the place of men and women. When we hear you talk of female seminaries, and of sending your daughters to them, we weep to think our daughters are deprived of such advantages.—Not a single high school, or female seminary, in the land is open to our daughters. And when we go into the church, how much of this spirit is here exhibited! In the house of God; in the place which Jesus Christ has appointed for his people; in the place where they sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus; even there the man of color is proscribed. Oh! how do these things appear in the eye of Heaven? Let me ask those men and women who are here to-night; how would you feel to be proscribed when you go to the house of prayer? This is the case with the colored man. He is told, "sit thou there; go and take that place." When he goes into the house of God, and takes a seat, how it depresses his spirits to be avoided; to have the whole congregation excited, as though some monster had come in among them! And then at the communion table, to be passed by, till the elements are presented to all the rest! Is there nothing withering in all this? How does the Savior, whose blood flowed freely for all, regard it? Are we not alike going to the grave? Are we not all hastening to the same judgement? Let me tell you, brethren, these things, to which I have referred, are destructive to souls; because they make infidels. When the man of color, complexion goes into a place of worship, and all within him goes among the shaking Quakers, or into the Catholic house of worship, he finds no distinction. There, the people seem to be for God and truth; the cord of caste is almost entirely disregarded; there he may sit without molestation. But among those who profess to be most orthodox, nearest the Bible, with a few exceptions, he finds the most prejudice! Now these things give a prevalence to scepticism; and of course tend to ruin souls. I know of many men who turn away from Christ on this account. They inquire, naturally, can this be the religion of Jesus Christ? Now, let me beseech you to look at this matter; to look at the bearing of these things upon the colored community.

I am happy that the Anti-Slavery Society has been organized, and is assailing this prejudice. Let them go on to eradicate it. Let abolitionists live up to their principles. Unless they do this, they will lose the hold they now have, and which they ought to retain, upon the minds of the people of color. We are with you. Our co-operation is your strength and hope. The mistake of the colonizationists was, that they had not our countenance. We are with you, to a man. With you we are willing to spend our money and strength. We love the abolitionists. Garrison and Jocelyn and other philanthropists, who have been persecuted for pleading our cause, are embalm in the affections of hundreds of thousands of American citizens. When the names of their enemies shall rot, theirs will live. I expect in twenty years, their names will be written in letters of gold, and be in almost all our families. They will ever be remembered with joy and gratitude.

One more fact with regard to prejudice, illustrative of its bearing upon the conversion of the world. A few weeks since, a vessel arrived from Africa. The captain was an African; the crew mostly natives, and a part of them converted Africans. One Sabbath they were taken to meeting by a gentleman, and seated as other people. A great excitement was produced. These men made inquiry into the cause; and they were told that in this country, even in Christian churches, where they pray that Ethiopia may stretch forth her hands unto God; and send Bibles to Africa, the people revolt at the idea of having colored men sit with them. On another Sabbath they went to one of the churches, and sat on the steps during all the services. They were not invited to take a seat in the sanctuary. These men are converted heathens, and are going back to Africa. Oh! what a specimen of American slavery! And yet those who entertain this prejudice, which is destroying the beauty of the religion of Jesus Christ, complain that the abolitionists are neglecting the Missionary and Bible cause, that they are combining all their influence, and concentrating all their efforts, to accomplish one object; and that they are "men of one idea." The abolitionists are aiming at the removal of the greatest obstruction to the conversion of the world. For this let them employ their powers. For this let them labor and pray; and in due time they shall reap their reward.—Friend of Man.

The Secret Revealed.

We copy the following from the Friend of Man. It is the report of a speech made at the recent Anniversary in New York State.

Remarks of Rev. R. A. AVERT, of Washington Co. Mr. PRESIDENT.—Although I am not a member of an abolition society, still I feel a deep interest in the question which is before this house. This is the reason why I rise on this occasion; and I wish to state to this assembly why I am not an abolitionist, or, in other words, why I have not joined an abolition society. I shall not, probably, confine myself very definitely to the question before this house; still I have in view an object to either approve or disapprove, and this is the reason why I wish to speak now on the question before us. There are two or three reasons why I am not a member of an abolition society. I profess to be a minister of Jesus Christ; I ought to love every benevolent and good cause. I trust I do love the cause of benevolence. I trust, sir, I do love the cause of suffering humanity. Still, I am not a member of an abolition society. And why? I have lived many years—nearly forty. Why, then, having lived through all the struggle in which the abolitionists have been engaged, a minister of Jesus Christ too—why have I not espoused the cause?

The first reason which I will present, sir, is the want of information on this subject; and I present it with shame to myself. Want of information respecting a cause which should engage the heart and hand of every man, throughout the length and breadth of the land! Want of information, when a flood of light has blazed through all the doings of this society, for more than three years! Yes, sir, this is one reason why I am not a member of an abolition society. And why have I not had information? Because, sir, like many of my fellow men, and ah! I blush to say, like many of my own profession, I have closed my eyes against the light, even when it was blazing with meridian splendor all around me. I would not allow myself even to take up a periodical of the day, and read an article that was in favor of abolition. And, sir, this is the first abolition meeting I ever attended. How, then, can I expect to know any thing on the subject of abolition? I once attended to hear a man lecture on this subject. He invited discussion; and I boldly stood up in the ship where I was, and disputed him face to face, for nearly an hour! Here, sir, is a reason why I have not known what I ought to believe—because I would not open my eyes.

Another reason, which I will explain in some respects, what I have already said, viz, erroneous information.—And here, sir, I am not alone. Would to God I were alone among those who have received and cherished erroneous impressions and wrong information! I see now, it was darkness itself which I cherished. Yes, sir, error is always darkness—the worst kind of darkness. And why did I cherish it in my bosom? Because I felt a strong attachment to another society, and feebly, with my mite, I have aided it, thinking it would fail, if abolitionism should prevail. Now, sir, you will see that I was placed in just those circumstances where erroneous impressions would be likely to bear upon my mind, for you are aware that every thinking man will form his opinions. Every man, sir, will have his opinions, his attachments, and his predilections. So it was with myself. That Society has been known for a few years, say since 1816 or '17 as the Colonization Society. I was attached to that society, and could not then receive the truth which was blazing all around me. I verily thought it was the object of the abolition society to do away every distinction which prevailed between the whites and the blacks, and that amalgamation must follow of course. I have asked, many times, what the design of this society was. A remark has been made in my hearing since I have been in this city, something like the following: A gentleman asked, what is the object of this society? Show us what you have done, and then we'll be abolitionists. The truth is, said the gentleman, they wish to see every thing accomplished before they are willing to engage in the cause. That's true. It is not wishing to see what has been done; we can see it if we will open our eyes. But we wish to see every thing done; we wish to see slavery entirely banished from our land.

Now, sir, for one other reason, and but one, why I am not a member of an abolition society; and it will explain the whole secret in all the rest. It is prejudice, sir, prejudice operating in two ways. First, toward the society itself, and secondly, toward my brethren of the colored race. Yes, sir, and prejudice of the strongest kind. Still, I am not a Southerner, I was born, and reared, and lived all within the last fifteen months, in New England. The prejudice which prevailed so extensively in our land, had taken fast hold of my mind. Yes, sir, though a child at that time, I remember at times to have amused myself with a little black boy, a few years younger than myself, and while amusing myself with him, and noticing his freaks and his sports, I would approach him, and go through all the various performances necessary, that he might carry out his designs. A playfellow; but I could not bear the thought of being seen to walk with the boy, because his skin was black. Well, sir, this impression has remained with me to the last day of my life, before this. Yes, sir, though I have been for several months, in soul, with the abolition society—though I have sympathized with this society, still, sir, this prejudice has taken such strong hold of my mind, that even with the principles I had embraced, and the little gleam of light which had broken in upon my mind, I felt this prejudice still, so that when even about taking a seat yesterday, in passing from Schenectady to this place, in the rail-road car, with as respectable a gentleman as Bro. Wright, who has spoken to us, and my father, I confess I felt a feeling of revolt at the first moment; and it is almost impossible for me now to think of the subject without that feeling of repugnance. Until I say, this is all wrong. This prejudice is giving way, and I rejoice that I begin to regard all as fellow men, as brethren.

I will now offer one or two reasons why I wish, at this time, to have my name enrolled as a member of this society. The first reason is, that by uniting with this society, I shall gain light and information. I profess to have but little. I have been in school but a short time, compared with most of the gentlemen of this society. I have studied the subject very little; I confess it with shame. But, sir, notwithstanding this, I now feel that this is the only society which can ever accomplish, or come anywhere near accomplishing, the object which you have in view, namely, the abolition of slavery is a great political and moral evil, and that this society is the only society now in our land which can ever accomplish its abolition. I wish to have my name enrolled among the members of your society. And, sir, I wish to have it enrolled here, that I may hear testimony to the truth. Time was, and not very many months since, when I did not feel that I could preach about the slave, and tell my brethren about his sufferings and claims, or of the sin of slavery; but, sir, I now feel that there is force, that truth is truth, and propriety in the resolution which is before this house. Nor can I feel that the expression in this resolution is any too harsh. It is true, to the life, and shall we say that what is true to the life is too hard to speak. Never, if we would be bold champions for the cause.

Not being a member of your society, I feel that I am trespassing too much upon your time; therefore I will close with one passing remark. Sir, I hold in my hand a little piece of paper. I present it as an offering to this society, that it may accompany my name when it shall be placed upon your records. And, sir, I present this in preference to any other piece of money, for a reason which I will briefly state. In 1830 and '31, I taught a school, far "down east." As a compensation for my services, I received gold. Two of those pieces of gold, very soon after I received them, passed into the treasury of the C. O. S. A. S. Society. Here, sir, is a twin sister of those pieces of gold; and it has been preserved, through the providence of God, wonderfully, that I might present it here as the last remaining one, among those which I received for services rendered "down east." It has been preserved in the following way: I had a step-father, who, when I returned to my home, wished for one of those pieces of gold. I folded it in a piece of paper, (and there it is in the very piece of paper), and gave it to the old gentleman. He kept it laid up in his drawer until last August, when he died; and before he died, he told my mother that he wished her son to have that piece of gold. It was given me rather as a memento. I have other mementoes by which I can continually retain the affection which I have for my step-father, which can do this society no good, which cannot benefit the suffering slave; which will be of no service to any cause or individual, except him who values such trifling mementoes. But, sir, here is something, though a small piece, which may be of service to some poor slave. I will only say, sir, that I regret it is not in my power to give ten fold more to alone for my sin. But I can not stand for it with money; nothing but the blood of Jesus Christ can wash away the stain, and may it be done!

ANTI-SLAVERY
From Zion's Herald.
Ba. Brown—Will you give a place to the following "hard language" taken from the Millennial Trumpeter, published at Maryville, Tennessee. "Slavery is not as bad as you think it is."—"Anti-slavery men exaggerate."—"These raw head and bloody bones stories."—"Our brethren at the South note their slaves under the lash."—"Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them!"—are sentiments I would like to have all remember while they read.
F. P. TRACY.
Negro Drivers
Droves of negroes chained together, in dozens and scores, and hand-cuffed, have been driven through our country in numbers far surpassing any previous year. And these vile slave drivers and dealers are swarming like buzzards round a carrion, through our country. You cannot pass a few miles in the great roads, without having every feeling of humanity insulted and lacerated by this spectacle. Nor can you go into any country, or any neighborhood scarcely, without seeing or hearing of some of those despicable creatures called negro drivers. What is a negro driver? A devil incarnate. The groans of his hellish crew, as the groans of eternal ruin are music to the ears of Satan. Who is a negro driver? One whose eyes dwell with delight on lacerated bodies of helpless men, women and children; whose soul feels diabolical raptures at the chains, and hand cuffs, and cart whips for inflicting tortures on weeping mothers torn from helpless babes; and on husbands and wives torn asunder forever. Who is a negro driver? An imp of pandemonium; the spawn of Tophet, who would scale the heavens and drag souls from the seats of glory, and sell them into perpetual slavery if he only had the power to accomplish his satanic desires. Yes, would sell the Lord Jesus Christ for a slave were he on earth and he had the opportunity. Who is a negro driver? An execrable demon, who is only prevented by want of power, fellow citizens, from driving your wives and sons and daughters in chains and hand-cuffs, with the blood stained cart-whip to market. Yes, his hell hardened heart would make but little difference, whether he made his ill gotten gain by selling them to a merciless cotton or sugar grower, or by sending them directly to the flames of hell.

The laws, you say, protect the ruffians in their nefarious traffic. Yes, the laws are often made by wretches whose characters are frequently a *fac simile* of these negro drivers, whose moral picture would black the canvass of the pit. There are at this very time, miscreants engaged in this trade, who once polluted our legislative halls; fit representatives for devils. Sometimes the professed Christian will sell to them the pious servants, members of the same church with the master—and even he who is licensed by his church to preach the gospel of love and peace—licensed to enforce the heavenly precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," by all the motives of the Bible, will sell the servant who by the same authority is licensed to preach the same gospel. And this master and servant have, with the same emblems of the dear body and blood of God's Son, taken a sacramental oath, to love one another—and to be willing to lay down their lives for the brethren. The master has risen from the table, with these sacramental emblems almost yet in his mouth, and sold his brother to a ruffian of the prince of the power of the air, to be put in irons, and driven to market. O unutterable! human language is beggared.

From the Friend of Man.
PETERBORO, Sept. 27th, 1837.
Mr. Goodell.—You have republished my letter to Rev. Mr. Winans, which appeared in the columns of "Zion's Watchman." In that letter, I declare, that the religion of the South is not the religion of the Bible; and I thence argue, that it is improper for Northern Christians to promote the religion of the South, as they do, when they contribute to the erection of her churches and to the endowment of her Theological Seminaries. I illustrated my position, that the religion of the South is a spurious, and an anti-Bible, by the fact, that the Theological Seminary in Columbia, S. C. requires its students to approve of slavery—of that system, which forbids "to marry" and to search the scriptures.

GERRIT SMITH.
ROCHESTER, Sept. 18, 1837.
My Dear Sir,—I have recently read your letter to Mr. Winans of New Orleans, in relation to assisting him in the erection of a church there to sustain the religion of the South. In this letter you make a quotation from a manifesto of the faculty of the South Carolina Theological Seminary at Columbia—publishing the disavowal of northern students, and certifying that they all indorse the peculiar institutions of the South. Enclosed I send you a letter written in 1835, by a young man then about a year from this city—at that time he was a colonizationist.—This letter will inform you of my sentiments in 1835.—Since that, and until a very few months, he has been a student in the above named institution. I have too much proof that he was there, at the very time this statement was put forth to the world, and that thus he was obliged to sanction a lie, or else that he, in common with so many who have gone before him, has been induced to renounce his principles in the vain expectation of "doing good," by withholding a part of the "counsel of God." I hope he had left the Seminary before this document was issued;—but, be the fact as it may, his case fully sustains you in the ground you have taken. For, were he true to his principles of 1835, it is very evident that he would have been an unwelcome intruder in this institution, and would have been at the time (when the declaration was made) given up to the tender mercies of Lynch law.—I send you the letter as a valuable testimony of an eye-witness. I trust he still maintains his integrity—but as yet can not learn. I pray that you may remain unwearied in the uncompromising enemy of sin—the enemy of slavery—and the man who will still take it for granted, that the slaveholder under every and any circumstance is a sinner, and a gross one—leaving it for him to prove the contrary if he can.—Not even Ezra Stiles Ely should escape, be his intentions ever so good.
S. CAROLINA, May 30, 1835.

DEAR SIR,—I am now indeed in a slave country, and I can not well forget the painful truth, if I would, for there are peculiarities of a slave country enough, daily and hourly before my eyes, to keep me in perpetual remembrance of it. In truth, my ear is pained, my soul is sick at what I am compelled every day of my life to witness of the evils of slavery. I am glad that you are an abolitionist. We have been wrong. I have already written to a friend in Rochester, that "I should continue to pray that the Colonization Society might do all that it possibly can for the removal of slavery; but that I am an abolitionist thoroughgoing and immediate." Of course, I can say nothing here for you can not conceive how deep the prejudice is here against northern schemes, and how jealous they are of northerners. But, sir, my views have been corrected since I have been here. Colonization here is nothing. I have scarcely heard the word mentioned, since I have been in the state. I had supposed that a greater part of the southerners, especially professors of religion, were in general willing to emancipate their slaves,—but it is not so. Those willing are solitary and rare instances. They can not do without their slaves in their manner and habits of living. They would not

emancipate, if means were provided to send every one of them from the country, and not if they were purchased at their full value. They would rather buy more than sell what they have got. Slavery, as you know, is not looked upon as an evil and wicked thing. It is justified, and those who profess to be Christians justify it from the Bible, and those who do not, will quote the examples of the Greeks and Romans, as justification. In the language of their own writers, "its condition (that of the slaves) must be unchangeably inferior and subordinate. This truth should be held as settled with us, as the establishment of castes in India." I quote here from the "Southern Agriculturist." Thus you see they do not mean to aim, even at a distant abolition of slavery. We, at the North, are mistaken on this point. We think (or, at least, I did) that the Southerners feel as we do, that slavery is an evil and unjust and wicked thing, and are willing to do all they can to get rid of it. But it is not so; they do not think it is wrong to hold slaves, to buy and sell their fellow men like cattle in the market—and consequently they never will do any thing towards effecting its abolition. I have not time to speak of slavery politically, though you know, I presume, that this state is opposing Van Buren on the ground, that, in the "Missouri question," he voted against the admission of slavery into the state. But one can not be long in this country without perceiving that slavery is a mass of moral pollution, and corrupting and being corrupted. No one who has not lived in a slave country, and witnessed its effects, can tell what passions and tempers it fosters. It is the very spirit of devils. A slaveholder possesses the pride and passion and malignity and malice, towards the miserable slaves, of the bottomless pit. Slavery, under its deadly influence, whether every sentiment of human kindness, every germ of humanity and benevolence. The love to our neighbor, which the spirit of the gospel enjoins, is a name unknown in the vocabulary of its despotism.

I never could conceive, until I saw it, the feeling which I see manifested daily. The utter contempt with which fellow beings are treated—the entire disregard of every thing like happiness or comfort or hope to them. Such a system must be wrong; such a spirit can have no communion with the mild and heavenly spirit of Christ. Children at an age when they should be taught obedience and submission, are permitted to become petty tyrants themselves, and grow up in the indulgence of pride, haughtiness, anger, malice and every unholy passion. What can you expect from such men? South Carolina, you know, is very jealous of her rights. She is very fearful of being intimated upon and clamors noisily about rights and justice, when she is living in the most open and palpable violation of the dearest and most sacred rights—rights, which are the birth-right of man, and as inalienable as the air he breathes, and the soul within him. It is painful to me to witness the utter disregard, that is paid to such rights by the southerners. God will not always, I believe, permit such injustices. He always has done it, and they can not hope to escape. He has cursed the South, in the early disposition and premature death of so many of her most promising youth. He is cursing the southern churches with barrenness and spiritual death. No dew of heavenly grace, or rains of mercy fall upon it, comparatively. I live in the family of a southern planter, and see and feel nothing of the quiet of a New England family here. It is one continual scene of noise, and fretting, and scolding, and threatening, and lashing.—Our yard is filled daily with young negroes entirely naked or next to it,—running about, merely as domestic animals. You can imagine the effect of such a state of things upon the moral and social habits of children.

From the Liberator.
Letters to Catharine E. Beecher.
NO. XII.
EAST BOSTON, 10th mo. 2d, 1837.
DEAR FRIEND:—
In my last, I gave thee a running commentary upon thy views with regard to the appropriate sphere of woman, with something like a promise, that in my next, I would throw out those which recent reflection on this very important subject has led me to adopt.

Since I engaged in the investigation of the rights of the slave, I have necessarily been led to a better understanding of my own; for I have found the Anti-Slavery cause to be the high school of morals in our land—the school in which human rights are more fully investigated, and better understood and taught, than in any other benevolent enterprise. Here one great fundamental principle is disintegrated, which, as soon as it is uplifted to public view, leads the mind into a thousand different ramifications, into which the rays of this central light are streaming with brightness and glory. Here we are led to examine why human beings have any rights. It is because they are moral beings: the rights of all men, from the king to the slave, are built upon their moral nature; and as all men have this moral nature, so all men have essentially the same rights. These rights may be plundered from the slave, but they cannot be alienated: his right to life and to himself is as perfect now, as is that of Lyman Beecher: they are written in his moral being, and must remain unimpaired as long as that being continues. Now it naturally occurred to me, that if rights were founded in moral being, then the mere circumstance of sex could not give to man higher rights and responsibilities, than to woman. To suppose that it did, would be to deny the self-evident truth, that the physical constitution is the mere instrument of the moral nature. To suppose that it did, would be to break up utterly the relation of the two natures, and to reverse their functions, exalting the animal nature into a monarch, and humbling the moral into a slave; making the former a proprietor, and the latter its property. When I look at human beings as moral beings, all distinction in sex sinks into insignificance and nothingness; for I believe it regulates rights and responsibilities no more than the color of the skin or the eyes. My doctrine then is, that whatever it is morally right for man to do, it is morally right for woman to do. Our duties are governed, not by difference of sex, but by the diversity of our relative connections in life, and the variety of gifts and talents committed to our care, and the different ends in which we live.

This regulation of duty by the mere circumstance of sex, rather than by the fundamental principle of moral being, has led to all that manifold train of evils flowing out of the anti-Christian doctrine of masculine and feminine virtues. By this doctrine, man has been converted into the warrior, and clothed in sternness, and those other kindred qualities, which, in the eyes of many, belong to his character as a man; whilst women have been taught to lean upon an arm of flesh, to sit as a doll arrayed in "gold and pearls, and costly array," to be admired for her personal charms, and caressed and humored like a spoiled child, or converted into a mere drudge to suit the convenience of her lord and master. This principle has spread desolation over the whole moral world, and brought into all the diversified relations of life, "confusion and every evil work." It has given to man a charter for the exercise of tyranny and selfishness, pride and arrogance, lust and brutal violence. It has robbed woman of essential rights, the right to think and speak and act on all great moral questions, just as men think and speak and act; the right to share their responsibilities, dangers and toils; the right to fulfill the great end of her being, as a help meet for man, as a moral, intellectual and immortal creature, and of glorifying God in her spirit which is His. Hitherto, instead of being a help meet to man, in the highest, noblest sense of the term, as a companion, as a co-worker, an equal, she has been a mere appendage

to man, and may it be done!

DEAR SIR,—I am now indeed in a slave country, and I can not well forget the painful truth, if I would, for there are peculiarities of a slave country enough, daily and hourly before my eyes, to keep me in perpetual remembrance of it. In truth, my ear is pained, my soul is sick at what I am compelled every day of my life to witness of the evils of slavery. I am glad that you are an abolitionist. We have been wrong. I have already written to a friend in Rochester, that "I should continue to pray that the Colonization Society might do all that it possibly can for the removal of slavery; but that I am an abolitionist thoroughgoing and immediate." Of course, I can say nothing here for you can not conceive how deep the prejudice is here against northern schemes, and how jealous they are of northerners. But, sir, my views have been corrected since I have been here. Colonization here is nothing. I have scarcely heard the word mentioned, since I have been in the state. I had supposed that a greater part of the southerners, especially professors of religion, were in general willing to emancipate their slaves,—but it is not so. Those willing are solitary and rare instances. They can not do without their slaves in their manner and habits of living. They would not

emancipate, if means were provided to send every one of them from the country, and not if they were purchased at their full value. They would rather buy more than sell what they have got. Slavery, as you know, is not looked upon as an evil and wicked thing. It is justified, and those who profess to be Christians justify it from the Bible, and those who do not, will quote the examples of the Greeks and Romans, as justification. In the language of their own writers, "its condition (that of the slaves) must be unchangeably inferior and subordinate. This truth should be held as settled with us, as the establishment of castes in India." I quote here from the "Southern Agriculturist." Thus you see they do not mean to aim, even at a distant abolition of slavery. We, at the North, are mistaken on this point. We think (or, at least, I did) that the Southerners feel as we do, that slavery is an evil and unjust and wicked thing, and are willing to do all they can to get rid of it. But it is not so; they do not think it is wrong to hold slaves, to buy and sell their fellow men like cattle in the market—and consequently they never will do any thing towards effecting its abolition. I have not time to speak of slavery politically, though you know, I presume, that this state is opposing Van Buren on the ground, that, in the "Missouri question," he voted against the admission of slavery into the state. But one can not be long in this country without perceiving that slavery is a mass of moral pollution, and corrupting and being corrupted. No one who has not lived in a slave country, and witnessed its effects, can tell what passions and tempers it fosters. It is the very spirit of devils. A slaveholder possesses the pride and passion and malignity and malice, towards the miserable slaves, of the bottomless pit. Slavery, under its deadly influence, whether every sentiment of human kindness, every germ of humanity and benevolence. The love to our neighbor, which the spirit of the gospel enjoins, is a name unknown in the vocabulary of its despotism.

I never could conceive, until I saw it, the feeling which I see manifested daily. The utter contempt with which fellow beings are treated—the entire disregard of every thing like happiness or comfort or hope to them. Such a system must be wrong; such a spirit can have no communion with the mild and heavenly spirit of Christ. Children at an age when they should be taught obedience and submission, are permitted to become petty tyrants themselves, and grow up in the indulgence of pride, haughtiness, anger, malice and every unholy passion. What can you expect from such men? South Carolina, you know, is very jealous of her rights. She is very fearful of being intimated upon and clamors noisily about rights and justice, when she is living in the most open and palpable violation of the dearest and most sacred rights—rights, which are the birth-right of man, and as inalienable as the air he breathes, and the soul within him. It is painful to me to witness the utter disregard, that is paid to such rights by the southerners. God will not always, I believe, permit such injustices. He always has done it, and they can not hope to escape. He has cursed the South, in the early disposition and premature death of so many of her most promising youth. He is cursing the southern churches with barrenness and spiritual death. No dew of heavenly grace, or rains of mercy fall upon it, comparatively. I live in the family of a southern planter, and see and feel nothing of the quiet of a New England family here. It is one continual scene of noise, and fretting, and scolding, and threatening, and lashing.—Our yard is filled daily with young negroes entirely naked or next to it,—running about, merely as domestic animals. You can imagine the effect of such a state of things upon the moral and social habits of children.

of his being, an instrument of his convenience and pleasure, the pretty toy with which he whiled away his leisure moments, or the pet animal whom he humored into playfulness and submission. Woman, instead of being regarded as the equal of man, has uniformly been looked down upon as his inferior, a mere gift to fill up the measure of his happiness. In the poetry of romantic gallantry, it is true, she has been called the last best gift of God to man; but I believe I speak forth the words of truth and soberness when I affirm, that woman never was given to man. She was created, like him, in the image of God, and crowned with glory and honor; created only a little lower than the angels—not, as is too generally presumed, a little lower than man; on her brow, as well as on his, was placed the diadem of beauty; and in her hand the sceptre of universal dominion. Gen. i. 27, 28. "The last best gift of God to man." I shall like to see the scripture warrant for this rhetorical flourish, this splendid absurdity. Let us examine the account of her creation. "And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made her a woman, and brought her unto the man." Not as a gift—for Adam immediately recognized her as a part of himself—(this is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh)—a companion and equal, not one hair's breadth beneath him in the greatness of her moral being; not one iota subject to him, for they both stood on the same platform of human rights, immediately under the government of God only. This idea of woman's being the last best gift of God to man, however pretty it may sound to the ears of those who love to discourse upon the poetry of romantic gallantry, and the generous prompting of chivalry, has nevertheless been the means of sinking her from an *ad eam* into a mere means—of turning her into an appendage to, instead of recognizing her as a part of man—of destroying her individuality, and rights, and responsibilities, and merging her moral being into that of man. Instead of Jehovah being her king, her lawgiver, and her judge, she has been taken out of the exalted scale of existence in which He placed her, and crushed down under the feet of man.

I have often been amused at the vain efforts which have been made to define the relative duties of immortal beings as men and women. No one has yet found out just where to draw the line of separation between them, and for this simple reason, that no one knows just how far below man woman is, whether she be a head shorter, or head and shoulders lower in her moral responsibilities, or the full length of his noble stature below him, i. e. under his feet. Confusion, uncertainty, and great inconsistencies, must exist on this point, so long as woman is regarded in the least degree inferior to man; but only place her where her maker placed her, on the same platform of human rights with man, and side by side with him, and every difficulty immediately vanishes—the mountain of perplexity flows down in the presence of this grand equalizing principle. Measure her rights and duties by the sure, unerring standard of moral being, not by the false weights and measures of a mere circumstance of her human existence, and then will it become a self-evident truth, that whatever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do. I recognize no right but human rights—I know nothing of men's rights and women's rights; for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female; and it is my solemn conviction, that, until this important principle of equality is recognized and carried out into practice, vain will be the efforts of the church to do any thing effectual for the permanent reformation of the world. Woman was the first transgressor, and the first victim of power. In all heathen nations, she has been the slave of man, and no Christian nation has ever acknowledged her rights. Nay more, no Christian Society has ever done so either on the broad and solid basis of humanity. I know that in some few denominations, she is permitted to preach the gospel; but this is not done from a conviction of her equality as a human being, but of her equality in spiritual gifts—for we find that women, even in these Societies, is not allowed to make the Discipline by which she is to be governed. Now, I believe it is her right to be consulted in all the laws and regulations by which she is to be governed, whether in Church or State, and that the present arrangements of Society, on those points, are a violation of human rights, an usurpation of power over her which is working mischief, great mischief, in the world. If Ecclesiastical and Civil governments are ordained of God, then I contend that woman has just as much right to sit in solemn counsel in Conventions, Conferences, Associations and General Assemblies, as man—just as much right to sit upon the throne of England, or in the Presidential chair of the United States, as man.

But if the query is asked, do you want to see woman engaged in the contention and strife of sectarian controversy, or the political intrigue of party? I say no! never—never. I rejoice that she does not stand on the same platform which man now occupies in these respects; but I mourn, also, that she should thus be engaged, because I value his purity of character just as much as I do that of hers. As a moral being, whatever it is morally wrong for her to do, it is morally wrong for him to do. The fallacious doctrine of male and female virtues has well nigh ruined all that is morally great and lovely in his character: he has been quite as deep a sufferer by it as woman, though in a very different way. As time will not allow of my entering into the minute detail, by which my principles might be illustrated and explained, I must leave this for thee and my readers to do. Thou wilt find a wide field opened before thee, in the investigation of which, I doubt not, thou wilt be instructed and interested. Enter this field, and explore it: thou wilt find in it a hid treasure, more precious than rubies—a fund of information, a mine of principles as new as they are great and glorious. I will close this letter with a few words on thy remarks about Esther. Thou sayest, "When a woman is placed in similar circumstances, where death to herself and all her nation is one alternative, and there is nothing worse to fear, but something to hope as the other alternative, then she may safely follow such an example." In this sentence, thou hast conceded every thing I could wish, and proved beyond dispute just what I adduced this text to prove in my Appeal. I will explain myself. Look at the condition of our country—Church and State deeply involved in the enormous crime of slavery: ah! more—planting our feet upon the sacred volume, and claiming it as our charter for the collar and the chain. What then can we expect, but that the vials of divine wrath will be poured out upon a nation of oppressors and hypocrites? for we are loud in our professions of civil and ecclesiastical liberty. Now, as a Southerner, I know that reflecting slaveholders expect their peculiar institution to be overthrown in blood. Read the opinion of Moore of Virginia, as expressed by him in the House of Delegates in 1832—"What must be the ultimate consequence of retaining the slaves amongst us? The answer to this enquiry is both obvious and appalling. It is that the time will come, and at no distant day, when we shall be involved in all the horrors of a servile war, which will not end until both sides have suffered much, until the land shall every where be red with blood, and until the slaves or the whites are totally exterminated. If there be any truth in history, and if the time has not arrived when causes have ceased to produce their legitimate results, the dreadful catastrophe in which I have predicted that our slave system must result, if persisted in, is as inevitable as any event which has already transpired."

Here, then, is one alternative, and just as tremendous an alternative as that which was presented to the Queen of Persia. "There is nothing worse to fear for the South, let the result of Abolition efforts be what they may, whilst there is something to hope as the other alternative; because if she will receive the truth in the love of it, she may repent and be saved. So that, after all, according to thy own reason, the woman of America may safely follow such an example."

Thou sayest, when a woman is asked to sign a petition, or join an Anti-Slavery Society, it is for the purpose of contributing her measure of influence to keep up agitation in Congress, to promote the excitement of the North against the iniquities of the South, to coerce the South by fear, shame, anger, and a sense of odium, to do what she is determined not to do. Indeed! Are these the only motives presented to the daughters of America, for laboring in the glorious cause of Human Rights? Let us examine them, one by one. 1. To keep up agitation in Congress. Yes—for I can adopt the language of Moore of Virginia in 1832, "I should regret at all times the existence of any unnecessary excitement in the country, on any subject; but I confess, I see no reason to lament that which may have arisen on the present occasion: It is often necessary that there should be some excitement among the people to induce them to turn their attention to questions deeply affecting the welfare of the Commonwealth, and there never can arise any subject more worthy their attention than that

of the abolition of slavery." I then believe it is all important, to this republic, to keep up an excitement in Congress. 2. To promote the excitement of the North against the iniquities of the South. Yes, and against her own sinful co-partnership in these iniquities. I believe the discussion of Human Rights at the North has already been of immense advantage to this country. It is producing the happiest influence upon the minds and hearts of those who are engaged in it; just such results as Thos. Clarkson tells us were produced in England by the agitation of the subject there. Says he, "of the immense advantages of this contest, I know not how to speak. Indeed, the very agitation of the question, which it involved, has been highly important. Never was the heart of man so expanded; never were its generous sympathies so generally and so perseveringly excited. These sympathies, thus called into existence, have been useful preservatives of national virtue." I therefore do wish very much to promote the Anti-Slavery excitement at the North, because I believe it will prove a useful preservative of national virtue. 3. To coerce the South by fear, shame, anger, and a sense of odium. It is true that I feel the imminent danger of the South so much, that I would fain save them with fear, pulling them, out of the fire; for if they ever are saved, they will indeed be as a firebrand plucked out of the burning. Nor do I see any thing wrong in influencing slaveholders by a sense of shame or odium. Why may not abolitionists speak some things to their shame, as the Apostle did to that of the Corinthians? As to anger, it is no design of ours to excite so wicked a passion. We cannot help it, if, in rejecting the truth, they become angry; not any more than Stephen could help the anger of the Jews when they gnashed upon him with their teeth.

But I had thought the principal motives urged by abolitionists were not these, but that they endeavored to excite men and women to active exertion, first to cleanse their own hands of the sin of slavery, and secondly, to save the South, if possible, and the North, at any rate, from the impending judgments of heaven. The result of their mission in this country cannot affect the validity of that mission in the least. Like Noah, it is very likely they will preach in vain; and, if so, the destruction of the south can no more be attributed to them, than the destruction of the ante-diluvian world to him. In vain, did I say! Oh no! The discussion of the wrongs of the slave has opened the way for the discussion of other rights, and the ultimate result must certainly be the breaking of every yoke, the letting the oppressed of every grade and description go free—an emancipation far more glorious than any the world has ever yet seen, an introduction into that liberty wherewith Christ hath made his people free.

But I must close with recommending to thy perusal, my sister's Letters on the Province of Woman, published in the New England Spectator. As she has taken up this subject so fully, I have only glanced at it. That thou and all my countrywomen may better understand the true dignity of woman, as created only a little lower than the angels, is the sincere desire of Thy Friend,

ANGELINA E. GRIMKE.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Extract of a Letter.

Cass County, Ind., Sept. 28, 1837.

DEAR SIR:—We have many firm abolitionists in this region: public sentiment is on the change in Logansport, some who were much opposed are beginning to speak favorably of it, and claim to be such abolitionists as Franklin and Jay. They give up Colonization as impracticable; their only hope is that it may have a benign influence on Africa, and enlighten public sentiment. They think, amidst all the imperfection of abolition it will result in great good to the world. As to a Convention, I am afraid it is too late in the season. Before it could now meet the roads would be so bad that it will be impossible almost to travel; I think it better to wait till spring, and in the mean time I will endeavor to ascertain where we can obtain a house to meet in.

You are at liberty, if you choose to publish the following extract of a letter from the Far South.

Marriage of Slaves.

"The case of misery to which you have drawn my attention in the system of Slavery, applies with more force to the negro traders than the planters in the South. I have never purchased a negro without his approbation; and in many instances my purchasing contributed to the happiness of the negro. If I had not purchased, some one else, perhaps less merciful would. And as for separating the members of a family, I would not do it. In their marriages, however, they are not so much governed by affection as convenience. The first step is generally this:—The male gives the female a cut in her row occasionally; for which he requires her to wash his clothes. They go on in this way from one step to another, until they are called man and wife, and their separation is as often a source of happiness as misery. I have not here room to give you a description of our manner of treating our slaves, and will avail myself of some other occasion to do so."

The writer of the above was born and educated in Ohio. A. H. RANKIN.

Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society.

The conduct of our young friends at Elyria merits all praise. We commend their example to the notice of their seniors.—Ed. Phil.

First Annual Report of the Treasurer of the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society of Elyria, Ohio.

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|--|------------|
| Received Fees, | \$2 12 1-2 |
| " Articles sold, | 19 87 1-2 |
| " Donations, | 3 67 |
| Sum total of Receipts, | \$25 67 |
| Contra, Remittances to Treasurer of State Society, | \$16 00 |
| Paid for stock, | 3 02 |
| Balance in Treasury, | 6 65 |
| Whole Amount, | \$25 69 |

SARAH S. MONTEITH, Treasurer.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society.

The adjourned annual meeting of the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, was held at the house of the Rev. J. Monteith on the 17th of September. The following officers were chosen:

JULIET HAMLINE, President.

LOUISA JAMES, Vice President.

SARAH S. MONTEITH, Secretary.

MARY H. MONTEITH, Treasurer.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Mr. Philemon Bliss. The Treasurer's Report, and the Report of the Managers were then read and accepted. A short time was occupied in reading the Periodical published by the Society,—"The Star of Liberty,"—followed by an address very interesting and appropriate by Mr. Bliss, who was succeeded by Mr. Butts in some animated remarks on the subject of the propriety of Juvenile exertions in the cause of Emancipation. The articles made by the Society were then exhibited; and the friends of the cause present manifested their desire to patronize our undertaking by purchasing a large number of our articles.

Interludes of Music were performed on the Piano and the Hymns were selected from the "Songs of the Free." The concluding Prayer was offered by Mr. Butts, Principal of the Elyria High School.

By order of the Managers,

SARAH S. MONTEITH.

First Annual Report of the Managers of the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society of Elyria, O.

Feeling deeply interested for the poor Slaves, we were led to enquire whether there was not something that we could do for their cause. We determined to see if we could not by industry save one half day in each week, which we might spend in doing something for them, though it might be but very little.

We met August 30th 1836, and formed ourselves into an Association, to be called "The Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society of Elyria." Since the formation of the Society, the average number of members has been about seven. A good degree of interest has been manifested by the members. The meetings have been very regularly attended. The number of fancy articles which have been made in the Society amounts to about one hundred and sixty. We have found no difficulty in disposing of the articles which we have made. \$10, the avails of our work have been transmitted to the Treasury of the State Anti-Slavery Society. The Society has for some time received the Philanthropist which the Editor has forwarded to us gratuitously. The Society has also received some Petitions from the President of the Boston Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society to be circulated among the minors of Elyria. We have had quite good success in obtaining signatures. Our Society is now in a very prosperous condition. We hope that the interest will increase and that we shall be able to accomplish much more another year than we have the past.

By order of the Managers,

JULIET HAMLINE, Sec.

ELYRIA, Oct. 10, 1837.

MR. BAILEY:—You may be somewhat amused if not instructed by the accompanying Report of the labors of our little society. I have been surprised at the energy and perseverance of these children. We have no other society in this part of the State which acts with half the energy. Since I last wrote you I have visited the principal branch societies in Wayne County, some in Richland, lecturing two or three times in each place, commencing plans for the collection of funds. In each place they wished to have a little time, and promised to raise what they could. I attended our Western Reserve Synod at Painesville which commenced on the 28th ult. You will see by our resolutions passed there that we are advancing, both in the strength of their sentiments and in the number of their advocates. There has been a gradual progress for four years past. I am persuaded our cause is gaining ground every where through this region. On my way back I lectured at Euclid, according to appointment. I received a contribution to your Treasurer of \$17.39. I spent the last Sabbath at South Amherst, eight miles from here, five from Oberlin, where no anti-slavery lecture had been delivered before. I am now pursuing a course there, and last evening we had a good attendance and much interest was manifested. No doubt a society will be formed there. After this work is done I intend to make an excursion once more into Wayne and Medina counties, and close my engagements for this year.

Yours in the cause of humanity,

J. MONTEITH.

Extract of a Letter.

Loydsville, Oct. 20, 1837.

DEAR FRIEND:—It gives me great pleasure to state my confident belief, that the Anti-Slavery cause is gaining, not rapidly, but steadily in this part of the State. Our political effort has been rather cheering than otherwise. True, there was much flinching, considerable kicking, and upon the whole it was uncertain for a time how the newly harnessed team would move. It eventually became apparent, however, that the old harnessing of Whigism and Van Burenism was much decayed on many shoulders, and would no longer serve the purpose of the party drivers. We have demonstrated that many abolitionists are in good earnest and that they value their principles above the party factions of the day. This is, in my estimation, doing much. There is no lever, wheel, wedge or screw, which operates more powerfully on public opinion, than the ballot box.

An indiscreet man will now and then fly his invectives against one or both these classes of foreigners, (Dutch and Irish) but so certainly as he does whenever he chances to be a candidate, he receives so severe a castigation that he and others take a warning. The unfortunate negro has no vote, and hence much of his degradation. Here is a pre-eminently favorable opportunity for all those that will, practically to fulfil the divine command: "In all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." If the abolitionists who have votes, will put themselves in the place and stead of the unfortunate colored men who have none; and do for them as we would that they should do for us, were our conditions reversed, depend upon it we shall do much to stop the mouth of scandal and to elevate the character and condition of these unfortunate people. At first we may do little, but steady perseverance will not fail to perform much. Witness the influence of slavery. It is a bond of union to slaveholders. They will vote for no body that is opposed to this institution. With little over one third of the citizens (if all the whites in the slave states were friendly to slavery) they overrule the destinies of the nation. With two brief exceptions, all our Presidents have been slaveholders or pledged to the cause of slavery. The press of the whole country, the anti-slavery publications excepted, lie under the influence of this tyrannical system, and uses the liberty to publish only so far as it sanctions and allows. Even the priest at the altar is crouching before it. That which slavery does, liberty may do. Let liberty be a uniting and rallying point, and soon the tables will be turned. I will just add, only three candidates answered our queries, and these so unsatisfactorily, that many abolitionists did not vote at all. Dr. of the Van Buren ticket, gave the most acceptable answer; and though he lost many of his own friends, he was considerably ahead of any other candidate for the Legislature; and the Whig ticket suffered a loss of from two to five hundred votes, comparing this with the past year. So much for treating abolitionists with contempt.

Loydsville Anti-Slavery Society has been formed about three months, and has about twenty members. Joshua Lloyd, President, Travis George and Levi Beams, Vice Presidents, and Joseph Mead, Secretary. Address, Loydsville, Belmont county, Ohio.

Willwood township Anti-Slavery Society was organized on the 17th of August last, and has thirty-four members. Cyrus Hall, President, John Kester and William Marshall, Vice Presidents, and Samuel Swayne, Secretary. Address, Leathewood P. O. Willwood, Guernsey County, Ohio.

Debates on slavery are exciting interest and attention in this vicinity. The society have adopted a standing rule to keep a committee of five regularly appointed to report and read essays on the objects of the association. The members of this committee will be so varied as by turns to embrace all the members of the society. Some excellent essays have already been produced. It is an arrangement worthy of imitation.

Goshen Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the 6th of the present month, and has eighteen members. John Price, President, Samuel Yocum, Vice President, and Price, Secretary. It is an interesting neighborhood and the society bids fair to be useful. Address, Belmont, Belmont county, Ohio.

Sincerely Yours,

We are obliged to our friend for reporting to us the formation of these societies. We again solicit abolitionists to report to us punctually the doings of old or formation of new societies.—Ed. Phil.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI, OCTOBER 31, 1837.

LOOK AT THIS FIRST.

—We fear that the tranquillity and temper of some of our readers may be a little ruffled this week. What with our call for funds, and our notice of the Eastern Controversy, we shall be in danger of becoming unpopular. Let us assure our friends, however, that we take no more pleasure in writing such things, than they will probably take in reading them.

Their attention is first of all solicited to the following article:

"The Philanthropist to sustain itself." So said a correspondent sometime ago. We agree with him: it ought to sustain itself. But how stands the matter? We now print every week 2,600 copies. About 2,300 are sent to subscribers, (a greater number than has ever yet been sent,) while the balance are used for exchange and gratuitous purposes, and to suit new subscribers who want back numbers. The cost of printing per week is, \$50.00; of paper, about \$30.00. Now suppose the 2,300 subscribers pay punctually to a man, the paper will yield \$4,600 per year. The expenses of printing and paper, are \$4,160 per annum. Thus a balance is left, of \$440 to pay for wrapping paper, twine, expenses of folding and mailing, office rent, fuel, postage, (which by the way correspondents are very willing to make us pay,) &c. &c.

So then, if every subscriber should punctually pay what he owes, the paper would barely defray the expenses named. But, good friends, what is to become of the Editor? Do you know of any ingenious device, by which raiment and food and shelter can be had without money? If you do, we do not. It requires 3,000 subscribers, all paying subscribers, to support the Philanthropist and its Editor. Do not be startled. The salary of the Editor, who also acts as Corresponding Secretary of the Society, (and who also is a married man,) is precisely \$700 per annum.

But some may object, the cost of our printing operations is too much. Pray observe one thing:—our paper, though not a large sheet, contains more matter than a great many that are larger. The Cincinnati Journal is a larger sheet, but our paper is more closely printed, in smaller type, so that the quantity of matter is the same. Note another thing. All our columns except two, are filled with readable matter. The Cincinnati Journal has a great many more advertisements, than the Philanthropist. Where there are many standing advertisements, much is saved and much is gained. Ask your printer: he can tell you. The Philanthropist knows little of this sort of profit. Note one thing more. The Cincinnati Journal is \$2.50, if paid strictly in advance, \$3.00 in six months, \$3.50 if after six months. The Philanthropist is only \$2.00 per annum.

Brethren, friends, subscribers: let us tell you the truth—a truth at which we are, and you must be deeply mortified. Not more than about one third of you have complied with our terms, and paid for this paper FAIRLY IN ADVANCE. Is it in this way the Philanthropist is to sustain itself? Be not deceived: the Philanthropist will die, unless you do your duty.

We are not yet done. Read the article below. Do not think we speak with ill temper. Something must be done: it will not do to mince the matter.

To every Abolitionist in Ohio.

We are astonished. We have sent a printed circular to every society in the State, calling upon it to redeem its pledge, or if unpledged to send us aid; we have again and again called upon them through the paper; we have appealed to our subscribers in the plainest terms; most earnestly, most sincerely have we stated our necessities;—still, still, our necessities are unmet, our wants are unsupplied. BRETHREN, it is possible we may make one more call, but quite probable, THAT WILL BE OUR LAST. Let us be plain. Your Treasury is empty. That is not all. You owe your Treasurer more than five hundred dollars. That is not all. You owe your Editor, who depends on you alone for bread, two hundred dollars. That is not all. You still owe the Parent Society at New York, more than one thousand dollars, and that Society is now on the point of curtailing its operations for want of funds. And that is not all. Your printer has to be paid fifty dollars every week; and paper must every week be provided; and your business agent must live; we must have fire to warm us, clothes to cover us, bread to feed us. Do you not believe it? We beseech you to awake up. Have you done all that is in your power? We speak to every one of you PARTICULAR. Can you my good brother, and you my kind sister, say, I have paid with honest punctuality my subscription to the Philanthropist; I have faithfully redeemed my pledge; I have been zealous in stimulating others to send on help where help is so much needed; I have done all that man or woman can do?

We say again our operations must stop unless you help us, and that immediately and efficiently. The next time we shall speak, we fear it will be so very definite, you will not be able to misunderstand.

Miss Grimke's Letters.

To-day we republish the twelfth of these very interesting letters, which concludes the series.

To Correspondents.

We have several interesting communications on file, which shall appear in our next.

To all of our Readers.

We have devoted a large space of this week's paper to an exposition of our views, concerning the Boston Controversy. It is a controversy, which, although local in its beginning, has involved in its progress matters of much moment to abolitionists every where. The editor of this paper is alone responsible for the views thus given. He is not aware, that the opinions of abolitionists in Ohio are at all accordant with his own. We doubt whether we shall in this matter please any body. Some will apply to us the proverb, "every fool will be meddling;" others will think us foolish for not meddling sooner. Some will denounce us for being too severe on Mr. Garrison; others will blame us for conceding to him too much. Now we shall be accused of too much charity towards the clergy, and now of judging them wrongfully.

While all may thus judge that we are wrong, let all concede the possibility that we may be right; since, however well satisfied we may be with our own sentiments, we very willingly disavow all claims to infallibility. Our views are explained in the two articles which follow.

Eastern Controversy.—The Liberator.

Allusion has already been made in our paper to the disturbances among Eastern abolitionists. A sense of duty compels us to make some additional remarks.

We have always thought the course pursued by the clergyman, who signed the "appeal," from the beginning was indefensible. The complaints, instituted against the Liberator, were on the whole founded on sufficient grounds, but they should have first been made in a private way to the Editor of that paper himself. If he had refused to listen to them, or have continued his course unmolested in the particulars noted, then would have been the time for a public protest; and such a protest should have been made, not first in the columns of another paper, but in those of the offending paper. We must further say, that the complaints were not urged, with a sufficient exhibition of friendly feeling towards the Liberator.

1. The protestants complained of "the hasty, unsharing and almost ferocious denunciation of a man who happens to come from the South, which" they had "recently seen in the case of the Rev. Mr. White." Their assertions that neither time nor pains had been taken to ascertain the truth in relation to this gentleman, is fairly invalidated, we think, by the pro. tem. Editor of the Liberator. As to the manner however in which Mr. White was denounced, we believe it all wrong. He was denounced as a "man-stealer," a "man-thief," a "robber of God's perishing poor." Now suppose James G. Birney, while he yet owned slaves in the South, had visited Boston, and while there, had been publicly arraigned before the community, as a "man-stealer," a "man-thief," a "robber of God's perishing poor,"—what would have been the effect on his mind? Conscious of no other feelings than those of a christian, would he not have been repelled by such accusations, from even a consideration of the doctrines of abolition? Would not such a course have been the readiest means of sending him back to the regions of slavery, unenlightened as to his duty, and with the most unfavorable opinions of the nature of abolition, and temper of abolitionists? Undoubtedly. Suppose, on the other hand, that, instead of thus publicly arraigning and denouncing him, some zealous abolitionist had sought his acquaintance, conversed with him temperately on the subject of slavery, exposed to him without reserve and with christian meekness the horrible iniquity of this system, attempted to convince him by argument, not epithets, that slavery was indeed man-stealing, and then insisted on the duty of immediate emancipation, with all the appropriate arguments,—would not this course have been much more likely to produce conviction and reformation? On such a mind, we all can conceive, what would have been the effect. Christian wisdom and christian charity dictate such a course, while it commends itself to the common sense of every man.

We have no hesitation then in saying, that we believe the first complaint of the protestants to be well founded.

2. They next complained of "insinuations, thrown before the world in print, because somebody has happened to guess that all was not right." Particular allusion was made to the "repeatedly published insinuation," that the Rev. Mr. Blagden was a slave-holder.

After all that has been said in defence of this practice, we consider it entirely unjustifiable. What good effect can flow from it to the community, we are unable to perceive; and we can readily believe, that in many instances it may prove injurious to the individual thus indirectly accused. If it be important that any person's connection with the system of slavery should be known, let the information be sought in a private way from the person himself, or in the same frank and respectful public way, in which Mr. Birney recently called upon Alexander Campbell. If the person thus solicited should refuse to answer, we should not think his refusal a sufficient warrant for the continued insinuation, that he was a slave-holder.

3. They complained of "the apparent tone of demand, with which the Liberator had urged the reading of anti-slavery notices." This is a charge of no great moment, and too indefinite to allow of definite opinion. What the Liberator thinks an earnest entreaty, they look upon, as an authoritative demand. Who shall decide? As to their opinions about anti-slavery notices, pastoral rights, &c., we think altogether too much importance has been attached to them. Their heresies on these points, if they be such, are by no means grave enough to warrant the charge brought against them, of apostasy. We talk about the intolerance and bigotry of sectarian. Sects are intolerant, because human nature is intolerant. Abolitionists are not exempt from the danger of being bigots; for they are men. The religious bigot, unable to relish the simplicity of the terms of salvation as taught by Jesus Christ, builds up on what he chooses to call the analogy of faith and spirit of the scriptures, a complex system of essential doctrines and essential ordinances and essential conditions; and then exacts conformity on pain of excommunication as a heretic and everlasting perdition. Let us beware lest the vile spirit of sectarianism be exemplified among abolitionists. Whosoever believes that slavery is sin, root and branch under all circumstances, and that it should be immediately abandoned, and accompanies his belief by active efforts to disseminate these doctrines, is a good abolitionist, notwithstanding he may not feel it his duty to abstain from the products of slave-labor, or to use harsh epithets, or to read anti-slavery notices in the pulpit of a brother whom it would offend, or to do a great many other things, which other abolitionists, more enlightened and zealous perhaps, may deem it their duty to do. We want to see no creeds which shall narrow the basis of union among abolitionists. If one class of abolitionists think a certain set of measures of great importance, they are welcome to think so, but let them not denounce as heretics and apostates, men who do not see eye to eye with them. We make these remarks, because we think we have detected in many recent movements, exhibitions of that very principle which has broken up Christendom into factions, and baptized them with the spirit of "wars and fightings."

4. The protestants avowed with great emphasis their attachment to the various benevolent operations of the age, and seemed to think that abolitionists were in the habit or at least in danger, of neglecting Bible and Tract and Missionary societies, for the sake of abolition alone. The complaint thus insinuated, is unjust. Those who make it adduce but very few instances in point.

5. Their last complaint is as follows. "Our feelings are often exceedingly pained by the abuse which is heaped upon Ministers of the Gospel, and other excellent christians, who do not feel prepared to enter fully into the efforts of anti-slavery societies."

We are not prepared to admit the propriety of the language in which this complaint is clothed; but we are constrained to confess, that, in our opinion, all of our prominent periodicals have occasionally been too indiscriminate in condemning the motives of those, who dissent from our measures. It is too common to attribute the silence of Ministers of the Gospel on the question of slavery to the worst motives. This matter, however, fairly admits of difference of opinion. For ourself we are inclined to lean to the side of that charity, which hopeth all things. Some have not enough of moral indepen-

dence, some are influenced by an undue love of peace, some are constitutionally timid, some are actuated by a false philosophy, and some (we would hope the fewest number) are men-pleasers, or place-lovers.

The Editor pro tem, of the Liberator replied immediately to the protest. The reply is too severe and sarcastic, contains no recognition of purity of motive on the part of the appellants, and makes no concession. It fairly exposes however, the incorrectness of several statements, made in the appeal.

Of Mr. Phelps's reply, Mr. Birney has already, in his article, entitled Boston Controversy, spoken in such terms as accord with our opinion.

The reply of the Editor of the Liberator is indefensible. Commencing with a personal attack on the signers, it charges them, with egotism, calls in question their zeal, endeavors to cover them with contempt, abounds in un-called for sarcasm, concedes not one point, acknowledges not the justice of a single complaint, and instead of recognizing any good motives in the appellants, aims rather, in our opinion, to involve them in suspicion.

The conduct of the anti-slavery press in relation to this matter deserves notice.

The Herald of Freedom thinks the "object of the appeal undoubtedly good," and yet regrets that Mr. Fitch and brethren, from "sectarian and personal feelings," should unite with "the slave-holder and slave-holder's apologist in casting stones at Mr. Garrison." It believes that the editor of the Liberator has erred, but that "his errors are few and far between compared with his excellencies."

The Friend of Man, on reviewing the whole, shows no mercy to the appeal, spares the motives of the appellants, and makes no exception, we believe, to the course of the Liberator.

The Christian Watchman has come out unqualifiedly in behalf of Mr. Garrison and against the Clergymen, denouncing the latter, quite uncharitably as we think.

The Union Herald has pursued a similar course.

The National Inquirer has not yet spoken out with explicitness.

The Colored American, edited by a colored gentleman, finds good and evil on both sides, denounces neither party, and mourns over all that has happened.

The Michigan Observer thinks that the attack on the Liberator was begun from good motives, regrets it as an unwise measure, believes that the editor of the Liberator has faults and imperfections, but he is a privileged character, and should be let go unrebuked, because of his great importance to the anti-slavery cause.

The Emancipator has been silent.

Numerous societies in New England and some in Philadelphia, have passed resolutions, all, so far as we have observed, sustaining by their approving voice the Liberator, and reprobating the appeal—some of them eulogizing the accused editor in strong terms, many of them denouncing, some of them grossly assailing, and none of them (to our knowledge) acknowledging as sincere, the motives of the protestants. Reports of all these have been published in the Liberator, week after week, with no other comment than such as might draw attention to them.

Letters on letters also have been published in the same paper addressed to the editor, some of them marked by offensive adulation, many of them harshly impeaching, only two or three of them acknowledging as worthy, the motives of the clerical signers.

The colored people of Boston held a meeting, at which were adopted resolutions, which we hesitate not to say ought never to have found admission into the Liberator. They were violent, adulatory in relation to Mr. Garrison, unjust to the appellants.

No society has expressed any disapprobation of the manner in which the Liberator has been conducted, (except one, we think,) and no paper has specified any thing wrong in the course of the editor.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Society, published an article stating that the editorial department of the paper was entirely under the control of W. L. Garrison, but that in accordance with instructions from the State-Society, the Board had taken such measures as they deemed necessary to sustain the paper. The Board seemed the appeal unseasonable and unkind, and took no exception to the course of the Liberator.

The Massachusetts Society at its recent session in Worcester did nothing more in reference to the difficulty, than pass the following resolution.

"Resolved, That we fully and cordially approve of the course pursued by the Board of Managers of the State Society, in relation to certain appeals, &c. that have recently been spread before the public,"—and we sincerely desire that abolitionists will cease to agitate this question, and return to hearty efforts to advance the general cause."

From a review of the whole matter it appears, that abolitionists so far as they have spoken, either believe the course of the Liberator is entirely right, or that the fault of its editor is too unimportant to be noticed.

With much diffidence we dissent entirely from both these opinions; and we feel bound publicly to avow our dissent, because those editors, societies and correspondents, who have given their views of these disturbances, have by their indiscriminating support of Mr. Garrison, furnished occasion to our adversaries to charge abolitionists generally with the faults which stand out prominent in the character of this gentleman.

For one, while we are willing to suffer for righteous-ness sake, we are not willing to suffer for other men's errors. It is moreover due to the cause of abolitionism, that it be always carefully separated from the vices or infirmities of its advocates.

We begin then by observing, that harsh language, a denunciatory style, and a spirit of dogmatism are two prominent features of the Liberator. We are not disposed to deny to its editor the possession of the higher qualities of a reformer. He is distinguished by correct perceptions of the right, by independence of the detestable subterfuges of expediency, by a zeal that never tires, by unflinching fortitude, by vigilance, by devotion to the cause of the slave, and by energetic expositions of truth. The faults specified we think are notorious. They are the infirmities of an excellent spirit, but not the less to be deplored and rebuked. It is an idea at once dishonoring and dangerous, that there are men in our ranks who should be privileged from censure. The greater a man's abilities and services, the more danger there is that his faults or his vices shall become consecrated in the affections of his admirers, and exert a corrupting influence. We reject with scorn the thought, that among abolitionists, there should be any too lofty to receive, or too lowly to administer, rebuke.

We know that it has been the fashion to defend Mr. Garrison's faults on the ground, that the circumstances of the country when he began his efforts, rendered it necessary that there should be sternness and roughness and a fiery zeal to arouse it from its lethargy. We are heretical enough to disbelieve this. God needs not the errors and vices of men to carry forward his designs. His designs are accomplished despite, not in consequence of them.

We are aware we shall be told of the example set by Christ, and all great reformers. The example of Christ

has been followed where there has been no warrant for imitation. In two points this divine teacher is not to be copied.

His teaching was with authority; he taught not as the Scribes and Pharisees. He did not come to reason with men, but to declare principles, to assert the truth, and his arguments were just such as a teacher sent from God might be expected to use, miracle and prophecy. He referred to his miracles, he appealed to Moses and the Prophets, but did not stoop to sustain the authority of his principles or precepts by labored arguments. Are we in this particular to imitate the example of our Saviour? By no means. It is ours to reason with and persuade men. We are not divine. We are men of like passions and infirmities and faults with those whom we would instruct. If we would reform, we must convince; if we would convince, we must argue, not denounce and overwhelm with epithets.

Again: Jesus Christ saw what was in man. He that beheld Nathanael under the fig tree, "before that Philip called him," needed not that any should testify to him the secrets of the human bosom. When he denounced woes, he saw the heart: when he exclaimed, "O generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell," he spoke as the Judge, for the Father had committed all judgment to the son, and if he judged his judgment was just. Can we claim the same commission? Have we a right to sit on Christ's throne? We are aware it is said, "by their fruits ye shall know them," but are we willing to declare, that our infernal judgment is as good a warrant for denouncing men, as the knowledge of Him, who could not err?

As to the examples of Luther and other great reformers, we are in danger of mistaking the true secret of their success. It was not because Luther was rough and stern and austere and violent, that he roused man to think and throw off the papal yoke. It was simply because he perseveringly proclaimed the truth, without fear, without compromise, to the extent of his knowledge, and because God sanctioned and blessed his own cause. Had Luther been less violent, had his decision of character been tempered and graced with more charity and meekness, his success would have been greater; the Protestant reformation would have been more extensive and effective.

We love the example of St. Paul. What tenderness glowed in the decision, with which he uttered the most disagreeable truths. When about to declare the exclusion of the Israelites from the favor of God, he exclaims, "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." He then proceeds to enumerate, with delight, the high privileges which had honored them, as if reluctant to crush them entirely under the displeasure of the Almighty. When he would open their eyes to their sinfulness, see how carefully he concedes to them the little merit to which they might lay claim,—"Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge." Here is a discriminative compassion, that ought to be imitated by all who seek to reform their brethren.

The editor of the Liberator certainly ought to know, that it is possible to declare the truth with meekness, love, respect for an adversary, with that charity which never faileth, and yet be full, firm, uncompromising, fearless and energetic. We doubt not that the faults noticed in this gentleman, just so far as they have been exemplified in his conduct, have operated injuriously and lessened the effect of his advocacy of the anti-slavery cause. To suppose that an alarming harshness of style and epithet is necessary to arouse the attention of the American people to the fatal tendencies of slavery, is to suppose that truth in the language of love, with the blessing of God, has not power to accomplish the reformation of the world. The doctrine of immediate abolition has multiplied its converts, not because abolitionists have used fierce language, but because it has been set forth clearly and has intrinsic power to commend itself to the conscience.

Since we have attempted to perform an unpleasant duty, we shall plainly point out a few other evils.

The editor of the Liberator has denounced Messrs. Fitch and Towne, as enemies of the cause of abolition. In the same paper have been published resolutions of societies, letters from correspondents and extracts from newspapers, denouncing them, as evil men, deceitful, treacherous, faint-hearted, apostates, Judases, actuated by envy, jealousy, the meanest of motives. We ask, where is the authority for these charges? We have carefully read the several protests of these gentlemen, in which we have seen some inconclusive reasoning and strange opinions, but we declare that not a single evidence has yet been detected by us, that could in the slightest degree countenance those terrible charges. Explicitly and earnestly do they declare their attachment to the anti-slavery cause; they avow their full belief in all its principles; they continue so far as we can learn, as zealous as ever in anti-slavery efforts,—still because they persist in thinking and saying that the course of the Liberator is wrong on the points mentioned and in the introduction into its columns of topics foreign to anti-slavery, they are denounced as traitors to the cause of abolition. Such a course is intolerant and unjust. May God preserve us, who are so bitter in our complaints of the intolerance of others, from exemplifying the same vice among ourselves!

Again: some of the articles and resolutions published in the Liberator have been marked by extreme adulation of its editor,—an adulation creditable to high-minded men. We think too highly of human nature, to look without indignation upon that man, who will prostrate himself before any thing but the power of truth or throne of God. Of course it was with a feeling of deep displeasure that we read the poetic article in No. 37 of the Liberator, addressed to W. L. Garrison; the articles entitled "Tribute of Esteem," and "Great meeting of the colored citizens of Boston," in No. 39; a communication headed, "Silence gives consent," in No. 40; and an article over the signature of "Hamphen," copied into the same No of the Liberator from the Herald of Freedom. One correspondent subscribes himself, a "Garrison Abolitionist," and knows no other abolitionism, than "Garrison Abolitionism." Another signs himself, a "Jay Abolitionist." Another addresses the editor as "our noble champion," to whom "faint hearts look for courage." Another compares him to Columbus, "dragged from the scene of his glory"—to Wallace, betrayed by his own countrymen—to Riemz, falling beneath the steel of a pseudo-patriot—to the REDEEMER, "sold to his bitterest enemies by one of his own disciples." Others liken him to David of old, and tell him that his "brilliant fame" shall "become the proud theme of poets and orators." But we forbear. We feel grieved to proclaim the shame of abolitionists. We had hoped that the spirit of abolitionism would never permit such a sacrifice of mental and moral independence; and we still hope that there are but few among us, so faint-hearted, so destitute of self-respect and self-dependence, that when the storm comes, they must be gathered together under the wing of a champion.

For ourselves, we trust not in an arm of flesh, we would lean upon God. We are not of Paul or Apollos or Cephas; our only ambition is, to be of Christ. And we believe, that were every bright name now honored by association with the anti-slavery cause blotted out forever, were every abolition press struck dumb and agent laid in the grave, the truths of abolitionism would find advocates with "vision as clear, and faith as strong, and self-denial as great," as the world has yet witnessed; nor would God suffer the "bark of abolitionism" to be "wrecked on the rocks and quicksands of human expediency," though the mightiest of those, whom some delight to call our champions, should be smitten in spirit and prostrated by the powers of temptation.

We have thus spoken freely, not from a desire to engage in a controversy, that belongs not to us, but from a simple conviction of duty. We trust there will be no occasion hereafter to touch on this matter. On one point our readers may be assured: we shall not permit ourselves to be involved in any controversy, in which the interests of the slave shall in any degree be neglected.

What We Believe to Be the Reason.

Owing to the almost universal silence of the American press on the question of slavery, it is clearly expedient that papers be established, whose sole or chief object shall be, the discussion of this great evil, with a view to its abolition. Thus, we have the Herald of Freedom, Liberator, Friend of Man, Emancipator, Human Rights, National Inquirer, Christian Witness and Philanthropist.

Universal experience teaches that such papers cannot sustain themselves. Hence one of the leading advantages of the present anti-slavery organization is, that, by means of the National and State Societies we are able in an efficient way, to sustain extensive printing operations. All of the foregoing journals are supported by societies.

In order to develop fully the object of this article, we will apply our remarks to the Philanthropist.

The pecuniary responsibilities of the Philanthropist devolve on the Ohio State Society. The Society is composed of persons of all sects and parties, who have not united together on the ground that they think alike on all subjects, but on the ground that they think alike on the subject of slavery. Agri-slavery then is the basis and bond of their union, and no one would for a moment suppose that any other topic than anti-slavery ought to be introduced for discussion in their meetings. To introduce other topics, would be to create discord and contravene the sole object of their Union.

This society, thus characterized by harmonious views only on the subject of slavery, agrees to sustain a paper, whose specific object shall be, the exhibition and defence of anti-slavery. Now suppose that its editor, actuated by certain views of the right of free discussion, should occasionally write an editorial or insert a communication, advocating peculiar doctrines in relation to the existence of God, human salvation, primitiv e christianity, the christian ministry, the sabbath, peace, emperance, or any other subjects, would he not, just in so far as he should pursue this course, sow the seeds of jealousy, distrust, strife and division, among the members of the society? Would he not act just as unwisely as the individual, who should bring forward in an anti-slavery meeting for discussion, the five points or some question of finance?

Every one sees that the duty of the editor of such a paper is, to exclude from its columns every controversial subject, except the subject of slavery; and here he can sufficiently evidence his regard for free discussion, by allowing to both sides a hearing.

Influenced by such views, all the above mentioned papers, with one exception, have cautiously avoided topics of debate, whether in politics or religion, and the good effect of such a course has been witnessed in the unity and mutual confidence existing between the members of the societies which these papers represent.

The exception is the Liberator, which holds an anomalous connection with the Massachusetts Society. It was expedient this society should have an organ. The Liberator was an old and a tried servant. It was deemed important to the cause that it should be sustained. The editor and proprietor had incurred great losses and had become involved in difficulties. To have established another paper would have appeared unkind, might have failed in its object and at the same time have prostrated the Liberator. What could be done? Mr. Garrison had been accustomed to conduct his paper in his own way, to talk on what subjects and in what manner he chose; and he would not sacrifice one jot or tittle of this independence. He explicitly informed the society of this, but yet assured them that his paper in the main should be anti-slavery. With this understanding they determined as a society, that the Liberator should be sustained, and instructed the Board of Managers to take such measures as were necessary to sustain it.

From this we date the commencement of difficulties in Massachusetts. Before, when Mr. Garrison made public any of his peculiar opinions, or offended in manner, a ready and sufficient reply was, abolitionists are not responsible for the Liberator's offences or heresies. Since the connection however, when Mr. Garrison broaches his views about the Sabbath, or publishes a communication advocating the dissolution of all human government, or is more than usually caustic,—it is not Mr. Garrison alone that is to blame; the society which sustain him officially without dissent or protest, is responsible for his errors and causticity. This is the view which clerical abolitionists have taken, and this is the source, in our opinion, of all the appeals and protests that we have noticed. And we must say that, however much we may question the wisdom of Messrs. Fitch and Towne in their movements, we cannot harshly condemn them. It was not to be supposed, that they would be any better pleased with articles containing Mr. Garrison's creed on the Sabbath and Ministry, and human government, than he and his readers would have been to see their articles of faith on election reprobation and the final perseverance of the saints.

We regret exceedingly that the editor of the Liberator, while his paper was officially sustained by a society composed of individuals, so discrepant in their religious creeds, could not feel it his duty to restrict himself to the only subject, on which all could agree.

Our feelings towards the Liberator are of the most friendly character. An editor who so well understands the power and claims of truth, and the rights of free discussion, as to throw open his columns for the discussion of all subjects, whether they concern the rights of the clergy, the stereotyped dogmas of the powers that be, or the sacred institutions of christianity, shall have our most cordial God-speed. But, a paper so conducted, should be dependent either on voluntary individual subscription, or on an association whose great object of union should be, the free and full discussion of all subjects of human thought. It should never be officially sustained by an association, whose specific exclusive object is, the exhibition and advocacy of anti-slavery doctrines and measures.

Let Mr. Garrison, inasmuch as he appears to think it his duty to discuss all subjects which concern the well being and destinies of man, dissolve the connection between his paper and the Massachusetts society, and place it on its own individual footing. We, for one, in such a

case, would rejoice in supporting it, and never dream that, in so doing, we should be supporting any of the Liberator's errors, for the very simple reason, that we should have the right of combating these errors, in the Liberator itself.

"Moral of Slavery."

The article under this head on our fourth page, is taken from a very interesting collection of Miss Martineau's remarks on the system of slavery, found in various parts of her late work on America. The American anti-slavery society has done wisely in collecting these remarks and publishing them separately in pamphlet form. It is our intention to give copious extracts from the pamphlet in our paper.

We have broken up the article in this number, into several minor articles, so as to suit the taste of readers.

Great Meeting in Cork, Ireland.

By the Southern Reporter, just received from Cork, we learn, that a "very numerous and highly influential meeting of the citizens of that place was held September 24th, for the purpose of entering into resolutions expressive of their feelings at the present distressing and anomalous condition of the slave-population in the West Indies, engendered by the introduction in the Imperial Act of the Apprenticeship clause; and of adopting a Petition to the House of Commons, praying for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the entire negro race, in that part of her Majesty's dominions." It seems that since the year 1832, the Cork Society has passed various resolutions, disapproving of the apprenticeship system, and predicting the baneful results which have followed from it.

Among the speakers on the occasion was Mr. George Thompson. We have no room for any thing but the concluding part of his speech.

He (Mr. T.) remembered that, when in America, on one occasion, when advocating the claims of the American slave, a southern man told him to return to his own country, and obtain freedom for the starving Irish, who would gladly change situations with the sleek, well fed slaves of the Carolinas. His (Mr. T's.) answer was—Sir, I do not deny the existence of poverty and injustice in my own country. I do not deny that thousands in Ireland are ragged and wretched—but I do deny that the hardy peasant of that island would change conditions with your down-trodden slave of the South—Let us test this question. Let us visit Ireland together. Let us find the most barren bog upon the green Isle—Let us enter the most wretched cabin upon that bog. Let us look together upon the emaciated husband—the pallid, careworn wife—the six famishing children calling for bread, and calling in vain. Let me have the pleasure of introducing you as a bearer of glad tidings—a messenger of mercy. Let me say to the dejected man "Cheer up, my friend. There stands before you one who brings good news. He comes to tell you how you may obtain food for yourself, this woman and those children. He comes to offer you a better habitation—more decent apparel—a fruitful provision ground—and full supply of all comforts even to the end of life. We think the eye of the man would brighten and in an ecstasy of delight and gratitude he would lift up his hands and begin to pour blessings upon the head of his deliverer from penury and starvation. But suppose I interrupted to say—the man who brings you these offers of good things requires you to subscribe to one condition—you must make over yourself, this woman and these children, with your posterity, to him and his heirs as slaves for ever! How would you think the man would then regard his transatlantic visitor would he not look upon him with horror—would he not say, quit my cabin and return to the land of republican-ism and slavery—I will never sell my birthright and the inheritance of my children for a mess of pottage. I will leave my children freedom though I can leave them nothing else; and though I must expire upon the damp floor of this mud hovel, I will pray that brighter and better days may be theirs, and that when I am gone they may taste the blessings of liberty, prosperity, and plenty."

And when the speaker had not one of treatment but a question of personal freedom—the right of one man to hold and treat another man as a slave, and entail upon his posterity unmitigated thralldom. After some further illustration of the workings of the apprenticeship, and a tribute to Ireland for the exertions made by the Clergy in the 12th Century to put an end to the traffic in English Children carried on at Bristol, a splendid speech of which we have given but an outline, he concluded by saying that he trusted the day was fast approaching when the Negro of Jamaica would be able to say, standing upon his own lovely isle as the immortal Curran said, when standing upon Irish ground—

"I speak in the spirit of our constitution, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from our soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon our native earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced,—no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African son may have burnt upon him;—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down;—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of Slavery; the first moment he touches our sacred soil, the altar and the God sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

(Great cheering.)

FROM THE NORTH WEST—The Western Adventurer, published at Montrose, Wisconsin, a town built up by squatters on the territory recently gained from Black Hawk, makes the following liberal proposal to brother Lovejoy, which we hope will be duly weighed by the civilized and pious republicans of Alton—Eman.

THE ALTON OBSERVER—We are authorized by the proprietor, to offer the use of this press and the columns of the paper, to the editor of the Alton Observer, whose office, in a land of freedom, has been destroyed by a mob, until he can procure materials for the recommencement of his own paper. It is believed that the Sacs and Foxes, with whom we are surrounded, know something of the republican doctrine of toleration. We think that Black Hawk and his followers, are able to read some of the citizens of Alton, an instructive lesson on civilization.

NOTICES.

MARRIED.

In BATAVIA, Clermont County, O. on Thursday, Oct. 19th, by David Morris, Esq., LEARNER B. LEEDS, Printer, of Georgetown, Ohio, to Miss HARRIET SMITH, of Batavia.

RECEIPTS.

Georgetown, A. S. S. per J. Lewis - \$21 00
Ross County, A. S. S. per Rev. H. Bushnell - 42 00
Sandy Spring, A. S. S. - 12 00
Greene County, A. S. S. per Mr. Monroe - 50 00
New Richmond, A. S. S. in part of pledge - 20 00
Mark Strickland, in full of pledge - 20 00

\$165 00

WM. DONALDSON, Treasurer.

FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

Rev. M. Fairfield, per N. S. Johnson - 2 00
Zack. Lucas - 2 00
Elias M. Lewis - 2 00
Samuel V. Roll - 2 00
John Carous - 3 00
John Morton per Rev. H. Bushnell - 2 00
Jos. A. Morton - 2 00
Rev. Jas. H. Dickey - 2 00
Cyrus Hall - 2 00

\$18 00

C. K. BUSHNELL, Agent.

NEW BOOKS.

Just received and for sale at the Ohio A. S. Depository, N. W. Corner of Main and Sixth Streets, Cincinnati.

The Law of Slavery \$6 00
Narrative of CHARLES BALL, who was a slave 40 yrs. 1 25
The Slave, or Memoirs of ARNOLD MOORE, 2 vols. 1 25
GODWIN on Slavery 62
The Life of GUSTAVUS VASSA, the African 62
The Poetical works of ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER 56
Songs of the FREE 56
Cabinet of Freedom, 3 vols. 1 50
Thompson's Debate 50
Channing on Slavery 50
Bourne's Picture of Slavery 50
Jay's Inquiry 37
Mrs. Child's Appeal 37
LIBERTY 37
Poems by J. G. WHITTIER 37
Bible argument, by THEODORE D. WELLS 31
Anti-Slavery Record, bound 31
The Negro Pew 31
Testimony of God against Slavery 26
Rankin's Letters on Slavery 26
Right and Wrong in Boston, 2d. vol. 25
Slave's Friend, bound 1st & 2d vol. 25
The Fountain, Gilt 26
Plain 12
Paul of Reuben Crandall 26
Fourth Annual Report of American A. S. S. 25
Report of N. York Committee of Vigilance 25
Quarterly A. S. Magazine 25

C. K. BUSHNELL, Agent.

October 27, 1837.

Pledges made to the Ohio State A. S. Society at Mt. Pleasant April 28, 1837.

SOCIETIES.

Antrim, Guernsey co., \$25 00
Ashtabula co., pd 80 57 100 00
Akron, per Dr. Cole, " 9 50 60 00
Clinton co., " 56 75 100 00
Colchester, Upper Canada, 5 00
Cleveland, 200 00
do. female, 100 00
Cincinnati, pd 131 44 500 00
Euclid, Cuyahoga co., 50 00
Fayette co., 100 00
Granville, 200 00
Georgetown, Harrison co., pd 80 00 100 00
Green, per J. A. McFridgic, 30 00
Grand River Institute, pd 11 00 20 00
Greenfield, Highland co., pd 41 100 00
Green co., pd 50 00 100 00
Hartford, Licking co., 25 00
Harrisville, Harrison co., 30 00
Hudson, 100 00
Lees Run, pd 5 37 30 00
Muskingum, 75 00
do. co., pd 108 300 00
Mt. Pleasant, 50 00
Middleton, Columbiana co., 20 00
Monroe co., 10 00
New Richmond, pd 20 00 100 00
New Athens, 75 00
New Concord, Muskingum co., 18 00 40 00
New Garden, Columbiana, 50 00
New Lisbon, pd 11 00 30 00
New Town, Muskingum co., 25 00
New Petersburg, 75 00
Ohio City, 100 00
Oberlin, 200 00
do female, 30 00
Ross county, pd 78 00 200 00
Richland co., pd 80 00 200 00
Ripley, pd 199 00 200 00
Richhill, Muskingum co., 30 00
Sandy Spring, Adams co., pd 19 25 25 00
St. Albans, Licking co., 50 00
Stark county, " 10 50 50 00
Tallmadge, portage co., " 42 75 50 00
White Oak, Brown co., " 32 00 50 00
Utica, Licking co., pd 12 00 25 00
Welsh Hills, Licking co., 20 00
Washington co., 50 00

INDIVIDUALS.

Isaac I. Bigelow, pd 4 00 50 00
Philemon Bliss, 10 00
Dr. Jesse Bailey, 5 00
G. W. Brown, 3 00
Jos. Bryant, 20 00
L. Bissell, pd 10 00 20 00
Abraham Baer, 15 00
Wm. Boggs, 5 00
A. Crothers, 15 00
John McCall, 5 00
Abner Clark, pd 5 00 10 00
Moseley Clark, " 5 00 10 00
Jacob Coon, 20 00
Colored People of Mount Pleasant, 12 00
Luke Dewitt, 10 00
Wm. Flannery per Bryant, 5 00
Jos. Gill, 50 00
E. Gould, 10 00
Jos. Grimes, 10 00
Benj. Hockaday, 5 00
Benj. Hockaday, 5 00
A. Hammond, 10 00
Pinckney Lewis, 5 00
Isaac Lloyd, 8 00
John Lewis, (Warren co.) 5 00
M. S. McArthur, pd 10 00 30 00
James Maxwell, (Cadiz,) 5 00
John Parker, 10 00
Wm. Robinson, 20 00
John M. Sterling, pd 50 00 75 00
Mark Strickland, pd 20 00 20 00
Thomas Swayne, (New Athens,) 5 00
John M. Scroggs, 3 00
Alex. Scroggs, 5 00
J. C. Tidball, 10 00
Thos. Vincent, 5 00
Thomas White, 5 00

CONSUMPTION.

It is calculated from the bills of mortality, that every fifth person dies of Consumption. The victims to this disease are principally those under 35 years of age, comprising the flower and strength of our country. One of the best remedies ever yet discovered to arrest this direful malady at the very threshold, is the justly celebrated Indian cure for Coughs, Consumption, Spitting of Blood and Asthma—the "WATASIA."

Annexed are some of the many recommendations that might be given from individuals well known, and highly respected in extensive portions of our country:

The following is from Rev. J. Spaulding, Secretary of the Western Education Society:

Mr. PREC,—Dear Sir:—In reply to your question, "Has the Watasia been of any service?" I am happy to say it has succeeded in my family admirably. The case was one of severe Cough, attended with pain in the side and breast, and threatening to end in Consumption. On using the above Medicine, the cough and pain have disappeared, and health has been restored.

To my friends, I do not hesitate to say—TRY IT.

J. SPAULDING.

Cincinnati, Dec. 5, 1836.

For Sale at the Apothecaries' Hall, Cincinnati, Main street, one door above Fifth. 80—4f.

STEAM SCOURING AND CLOTHES-DRESSING EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the Steam Scouring business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between 3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage, and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a continuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upon the most approved plan. He assures the public that he will extract all kinds of Grease, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil &c., and restore the cloth to its former appearance without injury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for that purpose.—Coat collars cleaned without altering their shape, and lost colors restored.

Ladies' habits, table-cloths and garments of all descriptions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possible style.—This he promises to perform or no pay.

CHARLES SATCHELL.

Cincinnati, July 26, 1837. 80—4f.

N. B. Gentlemen's cast-off clothing bought.

SLAVERY.

MORALS OF SLAVERY.

This title is not written down in a spirit of mockery, though there appears to be a mockery somewhere, when we contrast slavery with the principles and the rule which are the test of all American institutions:—the principles that all men are born free and equal; that rulers derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that the rule of reciprocal justice. This discrepancy between the principles and practice needs no more words. But the institution of slavery exists; and what we have to see is what the morals are of the society which is subject to it.

What social virtues are possible in a society which is divided into two classes, the servile and the imperious?

Mercy.

The most obvious is Mercy. No where, perhaps, can more touching exercises of mercy be seen than here. It must be remembered that the great number of slaveholders have no other idea than of holding slaves. Their fathers did it; they themselves have never known the colored race treated otherwise than as inferior beings, born to work for and to tease the whites; helpless, improvident, open to no higher inducements than indulgence and praise; capable of nothing but entire dependence. The good affections of slaveholders like these show themselves in the form of mercy; which is as beautiful to witness as mercy, made a substitute for justice, can ever be. I saw endless manifestations of mercy, as well as of its opposite. The thoughtfulness of masters, mistresses, and their children about, not only the comforts, but the indulgences of their slaves, was a frequent subject of admiration to me. Kind masters are liberal in the expenditure of money, and (what is better) of thought, in gratifying the whims and fancies of their negroes. They make large sacrifices occasionally for the social or domestic advantage of their people; and use great forbearance in the exercise of the power conferred upon them by law and custom.

At the time when the cholera was ravaging South Carolina, a wealthy slaveholder there refused to leave the State, as most of his neighbors were doing. He would not consent to take any further care of himself than riding to a distance from his plantation (then overrun by the disease) to sleep. All day he was among his slaves; nursing them with his own hands; putting them into the bath, giving them medicine himself, and cheering their spirits by his presence and his care. He saved them almost all. No one will suppose this one of the ordinary cases where a master has his slaves taken care of as property, not as men. Solid considerations of that kind must have given way before the terror of the plague. A far higher strength than that of self-interest was necessary to carry this gentleman through such a work as this; and it was no other than mercy.

Again—a young man, full of the Southern pride, one of whose aims is to have as great a display of negroes as possible, married a young lady, who soon after her marriage, showed an imperious and cruel temper towards her slaves. Her husband greatly remonstrated. She did not heed him. He warned her, that he would not allow himself, for whose comfort he was responsible, to be oppressed, and that, if she compelled him to it, he would deprive her of the power she misused. Still she did not heed him. One day he came and told her that he had sold all his domestic slaves, for their own sakes. He told her that he would always give her money enough to hire free service, when it was to be had; and that when it was not, he would cheerfully bear, and help her to bear, the domestic inconveniences which must arise from their having no servants. He kept his word. It rarely happens that free service can be hired; and this proud gentleman assists his wife's labors with his own hands; and (what is more) endures with all cheerfulness the ignominy of having no slaves.

Patience.

Nothing struck me more than the patience of slave-owners. In this virtue they probably surpass the whole Christian world—I mean in their patience with their slaves; for one cannot much praise their patience with the abolitionists, or with the tariff; or in some other cases of political vexation. When I consider how they love to be called "free Southerners," I could not but marvel at their mild forbearance under the hourly provocations to which they are liable in their homes. It is found that such a degree of this virtue can be obtained only by long habit. Persons from New England, France, or England, becoming slaveholders, are found to be the most severe masters and mistresses, however good their tempers may always have appeared previously. They cannot, like the native proprietor, sit waiting half an hour for the second course, or see every thing done in the worst possible manner; their rooms dirty, their property wasted, their plans frustrated; their infants slighted, themselves deluded by artifices,—they cannot, like the native proprietor, endure all this untroubled. It seems to me that every slaveholder's temper is subjected to a discipline which must either ruin or perfect it. While we know that many tempers are thus ruined, and must mourn for the unhappy creatures who cannot escape from their tyranny, it is evident, on the other hand, that many tempers are to be met with which should shame down and silence for ever the irritability of some whose daily life is passed under circumstances of comparative ease.

Delusion.

This mercy, indulgence, patience, was often pleaded to me in defence of the system, or in aggravation of the faults of intractable slaves. The fallacy of this is so gross as not to need exposure anywhere but on the spot. I was heart-sick of being told of the ingratitude of slaves, and weary of explaining that indulgence can never atone for injury; that the extreme pampering, for a life time, is no equivalent for rights withheld, no reparation for irreparable injustice. What are the greatest possible amounts of finery, sweetmeats, dances, gratuities, and kind words and looks, in exchange for political, social, and domestic existence? for body and spirit? Is it not true that the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment?

This fallacious plea was urged upon me by three different persons, esteemed enlightened and religious, in relation to one case. The case was this. A lady of fortune carried into her husband's establishment, when she married, several slaves, and among them a girl two years younger than herself, who had been brought up under her, and who was employed as her own maid. The little slave was accustomed to play freely with the children of the family—a practice which was lauded to me, but which never had any beauty in my eyes, seeing, as I did, the injury to the white children from unrestricted intercourse with the degraded race, and looking forward as I did to the time when they must separate into the servile and imperious. Mrs. — had been unusual indulgent to this girl, having allowed her time and opportunity for religious and other instruction, and favored her in every way. One night, when the girl was undressing her, the lady expressed her fondness for her, and said among other things: "When I die you shall be free;"—a dangerous thing to say to a slave only two years younger than herself. In a short time the lady was taken ill, with a strange, mysterious illness, which no doctor could alleviate. One of her friends, who suspected foul play, took the sufferer entirely under her own care, when she seemed to be dying. She revived; and as soon as she was well enough to have a will of her own again, she was waited on by no one but her favorite slave. She grew worse. She alternated thus, for some time, according as she was under the care of this slave or of her friend. At last, the friend excluded from her chamber every one but the physician; took in the medicines at the room door from the hands of the slave, and locked them up. They were all analysed by a physician, and arsenic found in every one of them. The lady partially recovered, but I was shocked at the traces of suffering in her whole appearance. The girl's guilt was brought clearly home to her. There never was a cause of more cruel, deliberate intention to murder. If ever slave deserved the gallows, (which ought to be questionable to the decided mind,) this girl did. What was done? The lady was tender-hearted, and could not bear to have her hanged. This was natural enough; but what did she therefore do? keep her under her own eye, that she might at least poison no

body else, and perhaps be touched and reclaimed by the clemency of the person she would have murdered? No. The lady sold her.

I was actually called upon to administer to the conduct; and was asked whether the ingratitude of the girl was not inconceivable, and her hypocrisy too; for she used to lecture her mistress and her mistress's friends for being so irreligious as to go to parties on Saturday nights, when they should have been preparing their minds for Sunday. Was not this hypocrisy of the girl inconceivable? and her ingratitude for her mistress's favors? No. The girl had no other idea of religion,—could have no other than that it consists in observances, and; wicked as she was, her wickedness could not be called ingratitude, for she was more injured than favored, after all. All indulgences that could be heaped upon her were still less than her due, and her mistress remained infinitely her debtor.

Purity of Manners.

Little can be said of the purity of manners of the whites of the South; but there is purity. Some few examples of domestic fidelity may be found; few enough, by the confession of residents on the spot; but those individuals who have resisted the contagion of the vice amidst which they dwell, are pure. Every man who resides on his plantation may have his harem, and has every inducement of custom, and of pecuniary gain, to tempt him to the common practice. Those who, notwithstanding, keep their homes undefiled, may be considered as incorruptible purity.

Here, alas! ends my catalogue of the virtues which are of possible exercise by slaveholders towards their laborers. The inherent injustice of the system extinguishes all others, and nourishes a whole harvest of false morals towards the rest of society.

Cruelty.

The personal oppression of the negroes is the grossest vice which strikes a stranger in the country. It can never be otherwise when human beings are wholly subjected to the will of other human beings, who are under no other external control than the law which forbids killing and maiming;—a law which it is difficult to enforce in individual cases. A fine slave was walking about in Columbia, South Carolina, when I was there, nearly helpless and useless from the following causes:—His master was fond of him, and the slave enjoyed the rare distinction of never having been flogged. One day, his master's child, supposed to be under his care at the time, fell down and hurt itself. The master flew into a passion, ordered the slave to be instantly flogged, and would not bear a single word the man had to say. As soon as the flogging was over, the slave went into the back yard, where there was an axe and a block, and struck off the upper half of his right hand. He went and held up the bleeding hand before his master, saying, "You have mortified me, so I have made myself useless. Now you must maintain me as long as I live." It came out that the child had been under the charge of another person.

Facts.

There are, as is well known throughout the country, houses in the free States which are open to fugitive slaves, and where they are concealed till the search for them is over. I know some of the secrets of such places; and can mention two cases, among many, of runaways, which show how horrible is the tyranny which the slave system authorizes men to inflict on each other. A negro had found his way to one of these friendly houses; and had been so skillfully concealed, that repeated searches by his master, (who had followed for the purpose of recovering him,) and by constables, had been in vain. After three weeks of this seclusion, the negro became weary, and entreated of his host to be permitted to look out of the window. His host strongly advised him to keep quiet, as it was pretty certain that his master had not given him up. When the host had left him, however, the negro came out of his hiding-place, and went to the window. He met the eye of his master, who was looking up from the street. The poor slave was obliged to return to his bondage.

A young negress had escaped in like manner; was in like manner concealed; and was alarmed by constables, under the direction of her master, entering the house in pursuit of her, when she had had reason to believe that the search was over. She flew up stairs to her chamber in the third story, and drove a heavy article of furniture against the door. The constables pushed in, notwithstanding, and the girl leaped from the window into the paved street. Her master looked at her as she lay, declared she would never be good for anything again, and went back into the South. The poor creature, her body bruised, and her limbs fractured, was taken up, and kindly nursed; and she is now maintained in Boston, in her maiden condition, by the charity of some ladies there.

The following story has found its way into the Northern States (as few such stories do) from the circumstance that a New Hampshire family are concerned in it. It has excited due horror wherever it is known; and it is to be hoped that it will lead to the exposure of more facts of the same kind, since it is but too certain that they are common.

A New Hampshire gentleman went down into Louisiana, many years ago, to take a plantation. He pursued the usual method; borrowing money largely to begin with, paying high interest, and clearing off his debt, year by year, as his crops were sold. He followed another custom there; taking a Quadroon wife; a mistress, in the eye of the law, since there can be no legal marriage between whites and persons of any degree of color; but, in nature and in reason, the woman he took home was his wife. She was a well-principled, amiable, well-educated woman; and they lived happily together for twenty years. She had only the slightest possible tinge of color. Knowing the law, that the children of slaves are to follow the fortunes of the mother, she warned her husband that she was not free, an ancestress having been a slave, and the legal act of manumission having never been performed. The husband promised to look to it; but neglected it. At the end of twenty years, one died, and the other shortly followed, leaving daughters; whether two or three, I have not been able to ascertain with positive certainty; but I have reason to believe three, of the ages of fifteen, seventeen, and eighteen; beautiful girls, with no perceptible mulatto tinge. The brother of the father came down from New Hampshire to settle the affairs; and he supposed, as every one else did, that the deceased had been wealthy. He was pleased with his nieces, and promised to carry them back with him into New Hampshire, and (as they were to all appearance perfectly white) to introduce them into the society which by education they were fitted for. It appeared, however, that their father had died insolvent. The deficiency was very small; but it was necessary to make an inventory of the effects, to deliver to the creditors. This was done by the brother,—the executor. Some of the creditors called on him, and complained that he had not delivered in a faithful inventory. He declared he had. No: the number of slaves was not accurately set down: he had omitted the daughters. The executor was overwhelmed with horror, and asked time for thought. He went round among the creditors, appealing to their mercy: but they answered that these young ladies were "a first-rate article," too valuable to be relinquished. He next offered, (though he had himself six children, and very little money,) all he had for the redemption of his nieces; alleging that it was more than they would bring in the market for house or field labor. This was refused with scorn. It was said that there were other purposes for which the girls would bring more than for field or house labor. The uncle was in despair, and felt strongly tempted to wish their death, rather than their surrender to such a fate as was before them. He told them, abruptly, what was their prospect. He declared that he never before beheld human grief; never before heard the voice of anguish. They never sat, nor slept, nor separated from each other, till the day when they were taken into the New Orleans slave market. There they were sold, separately, at high prices, for the vilest of purposes; and where each is gone, no one knows. They are, for the present, lost. But they will arise to the light in the day of retribution.

An Empty Boat.

It is a common boast in the South, that there is less vice in their cities than in those of the North. This can never, as a matter of fact, have been ascertained; as the proceedings of slave households are, or may be, a secret, and in the North, what licentiousness there is may be detected. But such comparisons are bad. Let any one look at the positive licentiousness of the South, and declare if

in such a state of society, there can be any security for domestic purity and peace. The Quadroon connections in New Orleans are all but universal, as I was assured on the spot by ladies who cannot be mistaken. The history of such connections is a melancholy one; but it ought to be made known while there are any who boast of the superior morals of New Orleans; on account of the decent quietness of the streets and theatres.

The Quadroon girls of New Orleans are brought up by their mothers to be what they have been; the mistresses of white gentlemen. The boys are some of them sent to France; some placed on land in the back of the State; and some are sold in the slave market. They marry women of a somewhat darker color than their own; the women of their own color objecting to them, "ils sont si dégoutants!" The girls are highly educated, externally, and are, probably, as beautiful and accomplished a set of women as can be found. Every young man early selects one, and establishes her in one of those pretty and peculiar houses, whole rows of which may be seen in the Remparts. The connexion now and then lasts for life; usually for several years. In the latter case, when the time comes for the gentleman to take a white wife, the dreadful news reaches his Quadroon partner, either by a letter entitling her to call the house and furniture her own, or by the newspaper which announces his marriage. The Quadroon ladies are rarely or never known to form a second connexion. Many commit suicide: more die broken hearted. Some men continue the connexion after marriage. Every Quadroon woman believes that her partner will prove an exception to the rule of desertion. Every white lady believes that her husband has been an exception to the rule of desertion.

What security for domestic purity and peace—where every man has had two connexions, one of which must be concealed; and two families, whose existence must not be known to each other; where the conjugal relation begins in treachery, and must be carried on with a heavy secret in the husband's breast, no words are needed to explain. If this is the system which is boasted of as a purer than ordinary state of morals, what is to be thought of the ordinary state! It can only be hoped that the boast is an empty one.

There is no occasion to explain the management of the female slaves on estates where the object is to rear as many as possible, like stock, for the Southern market; nor to point out the boundless licentiousness caused by the practice: a practice which wrung from the wife of a planter, in the bitterness of her heart, the declaration that a planter's wife was only "the chief slave of the harem." Mr. Madison avowed that the licentiousness of Virginia plantations stopped just short of destruction; and that it was understood that the female slaves were to become mothers at fifteen.—Miss Matineau.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE.

Abolitionists in Ohio.

Abolitionists in Ohio are not asleep. They act without noise, but they act well. We notice in the last number of the Connate Gazette, an address delivered by Charles Case before the Jefferson County Anti-Slavery Society.—We should be pleased to re-publish it, but it is too long for insertion. The same paper of the 28th instant, contains an account of a meeting of the Ashtabula County Anti-Slavery Society, which we subjoin.—Ed. Phil.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Ashtabula county, convened agreeable to notice at the Presbyterian Meeting House in Ashtabula, on Thursday, Sept. 14, 1837, the President, Dr. O. K. HAWLEY, took the chair, and Henry Harris acted as Secretary.

The meeting was opened by the reading of a portion of Scripture appropriate to the occasion by the Reverend Mr. Smith.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Saunders of Unionville.

On motion, the minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary.

The following resolution was then offered by the Rev. Mr. Smith, and adopted:—
Resolved, That by firm perseverance and legitimate action sustained and sanctified by prayer, we may be confident of success in the noble cause in which we are engaged.

The following resolution was offered by E. Wede, Esq. Resolved, That as republicans and freemen, and men determined to live and die free, we utterly repudiate and abhor the principles of the Texian Revolution, and that we believe it to have been founded on no desire to "establish justice and to secure the blessings of Liberty," but rather in a fierce determination to establish on the ruins of liberty a licentious slaveholding aristocracy, and that slaveholding "America may enjoy a monopoly in the trade of Human Flesh," and is an enduring unchangeable stigma on Republican America; and that, should Texas be admitted to this Union, we believe it would be the signal for its dissolution and utter ruin.

On motion, Resolved, That a committee of three persons be appointed by the President to draft and prepare further resolutions for the consideration of this meeting; whereupon the following named gentlemen were appointed, viz: L. Bissel, Esq. E. Wade, and Ira B. Hawkins, Esq. Said committee were requested to meet in the Vestry of this House during the recess of the meeting.

On motion, the meeting adjourned until 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting again assembled at 2 o'clock P. M. agreeably to adjournment.

Prayer by Judge Austin.

The following resolution was introduced by the Rev'd Mr. Wede, who addressed the meeting at the considerable length in an able and interesting manner in its support, at the close of which the resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That slavery is a national sin, and that we, as a nation, are justly chargeable before God and man, with all the guilt incurred by the working of the system since the commencement of African Slavery, and that unless this is speedily repented, and the evil removed, it will terminate our national existence, destroy our free institutions, and fill the land with anarchy, violence and blood.

The committee appointed to draft resolutions, reported the following which were adopted.

Resolved, That all who love the Redeemer are in duty bound to use these efforts for the emancipation of the slave, and that we with our present light on the subject, cannot remain silent and inactive without incurring guilt in the sight of God.

Resolved, That those who have not yet made up their minds on the subject of slavery may soon be compelled to do so when the chains which the south are now forging for the people of the north shall have been fastened on their own limbs, or when the destroying angel shall pass over our nation, such as have not plead the cause of the oppressed will then have to mourn that their door posts were not marked.

Resolved, That whilst we highly appreciate the happy influence the Abolition Women of Ohio have exerted in behalf of bleeding humanity, we do most earnestly entreat them by all that they hold sacred, by all that is dear to the female heart, to exert to the rescue in one unbroken phalanx, and to exert that irresistible influence with which their Creator has so wisely and richly endowed them, in favor of the suffering slave.

Resolved, That our confidence in the justice and benevolence of our cause and the propriety of the official measures by which it is sustained, is undiminished; and we deem it worthy to enlist the combined energy of every friend of humanity for its consummation.

Resolved, That the executive committee employ an agent to lecture and form Societies in every Township (where societies are not formed,) in the county, and that we will sustain them in so doing.

Resolved, That a collection be taken up at this time to enable the Executive Committee to sustain an agent in the County.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the many and great obstacles in the way of the progress of Anti-Slavery principles, the friends of the cause have abundant encouragement to go forward with renewed zeal and activity.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Connate Gazette, Cleveland Observer and Philanthropist, Cincinnati.

Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to meet again at such time and place as the Secretary shall be directed to notify.

O. K. HAWLEY, President.

H. HARRIS, Rec. Secretary.

Ashtabula, Sept. 14, 1837.

We are glad to see tokens of an awakening public spirit in Illinois. The people of Princeton have set an example which should be followed throughout the state.—Ed. Phil.

From the Hennepin Journal.

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a meeting of the citizens of Princeton, Bureau, co., held at the Academy, Tuesday, September 6th, Col. Austin Bryant, was called to the Chair, and E. H. Phelps, chosen Secretary. On motion of Daniel Bryant, Esq., a committee of three were chosen to draft resolutions expressing the wishes of the meeting. After a short absence, the committee offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the free discussion of all subjects—moral, political, or religious—is the right of every citizen.

Resolved, That any and every attempt to restrain by force, any citizen from freely speaking, writing, or printing, on any subject, is a violation of liberty and law, and ought to be discountenanced and resisted by every republican and friend of equal rights.

Resolved, That the late destruction of the printing establishment of the Alton Observer, was an outrage upon natural rights and civil liberty, an assault upon the freedom of the press, a violation of the constitution and laws of the State, and deserving the unqualified reprobation of every good citizen.

Resolved, That the liberty of the press and the liberty of the people, must stand or fall together.

Resolved, That we will use our influence to maintain the liberty of the press, and the supremacy of the law.

Resolved, That a committee be chosen to obtain subscribers to the Alton Observer, and also to circulate a subscription paper to procure aid for the relief of the proprietor under the embarrassment occasioned by the late outrage upon his property, and forward the same to Mr. Lovejoy as soon as practicable.

Resolved, That we concur in the proposed Convention to form a State Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be forwarded for publication in the Alton Observer, Illinois Patriot, and Hennepin Journal.

AUSTIN BRYANT, Chairman.

E. H. PHELPS, Secretary.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Disgraceful Conduct—Generosity of a Negro Servant.

A few evenings since a party of four gentlemen returning from an excursion to New Brighton, in jibbing, upset at 7 P. M., about three quarters of a mile from Fort Williams, Governor's Island. No one observing the accident, as there was not a sail or craft of any kind visible, the gentlemen resorted to the usual mode of clinging to the bottom of the boat. They thus by much presence of mind succeeded in balancing the boat, and maintained their hold on the keel for four hours, during which the wind and tide carried them to the Long Island shore about a mile above the narrows. By this time all the parties were nearly exhausted by the dashing of the water in their faces, as there was a tremendous gale driving in from sea, and the waves ran very high. No one of them could probably have survived fifteen minutes longer. In this extremity one of the gentlemen succeeded in getting his clothes off, and plunged in with faint hope of reaching the shore. When he arrived about half way he sank with exhaustion, but finding unexpectedly that he touched bottom, was animated with new hope, and succeeded in a few minutes in reaching the beach. His comrades hearing the bark of a dog, reasonably and correctly supposed that their friend was safe, which inspired them to renewed efforts. The gentleman alarmed the inmates of a beautiful mansion hard by but all assistance was preposterously refused to the drowning crew, except that offered by a generous negro servant in the house, who came down and succeeded in reaching the boat, which had by this time floated near the shore. The gentleman who had swam ashore, was severely wounded by falling down a bank on returning from the house.

In a bleeding state he and the rest of the party now applied to the owner of the mansion for dry clothes and beds. They finally succeeded in obtaining from the servants a few dry clothes, and were reluctantly permitted by the generous owner of the house, to warm themselves by the kitchen fire, and afterwards take up their lodging in the barn. Though he confessed that he had plenty of horses and carriages, and was offered a gold watch and every security, (all the money of the gentlemen having been lost) for the hire or even purchase of a horse to convey them to Brooklyn, distant six miles only, he absolutely refused; and his "feeling and courteous wife" cried out, send the loafers off! clear them out! The gentlemen, who are of some of the most respectable families in the city, hardly able to stand, now undertook the journey on foot, the kind hearted negro, whose name we record to his honor, is Wm. Rice, piloting them a short distance, and ready to go the whole way had he not feared the displeasure of his inhuman master. The gentlemen went down a day or two after, and rewarded the negro and his whole family, to the shame and confusion of the master who was present, with twenty five Spanish dollars.—Evening Star.

From the Emancipator.

A Modern Emancipator.

"Not now as a servant, but above a servant."—Paul.

Early in the year 1819 a young man, who was a slave in this state, took his freedom. His offended master issued hand bills, sent messengers in all directions, travelled himself as far as Canada—but all in vain. No trace of the fugitive could be found. It was reported in the neighborhood that the slaveholder had murdered the lad. After a variety of adventures, the fugitive got a foothold in this city—married—established himself in business, united with a church of Christ—became joint Superintendent of a Sabbath School—a vice President of an Anti-Slavery Society, &c. &c. and on the first of August last president at a meeting of between 2000 and 3000 persons, at the Broadway Tabernacle to celebrate the passage of the British Emancipation Act of 1834!

A few weeks ago he undertook a journey to see his old master, from whom he had separated himself eighteen years ago. He found him, now an old man, living on the same estate, in wealth and surrounded with his children. The absentee introduced himself, and was most kindly received. He told his adventures, and his old master related his. The old gentleman did more: he invited the runaway, now his friend and equal, to lodge at his house, to sit at his table, to ride in his carriage, and treat him in all respects with kindness and respect. And what is more, although not a religious man himself, this old slaveholder requested his former slave to give thanks at table, and to offer family prayers, he having for the first time in his life assembled his household for that purpose!

The next day the gentleman took his colored friend in his parouch and rode around to call upon his neighbors, to show them that the supposed murdered lad was now alive, and that he had risen to the dignity of a respectable citizen. He gave his former slave the only remaining copy of the hand bill circulated when the escape was made, but frankly said "I am glad I did not get you." Our readers' curiosity will be further gratified by seeing a copy of the handbill, and to be told that the runaway slave is no other than our worthy friend Mr. THOMAS VAN REANSALAER, corner of William and Ann streets.

The hand-bill is as follows:

"\$25 REWARD.

RAN away from the subscriber on the 21st inst, a negro man named Tom, but who often goes by the name of Tinker or Tom Tinker; he is 20 years of age—about 6 feet high—well made—but had something of a swaggering walk—has a scar on one of his eye-lids—and a large scar on one of his arms—he can read—is fond of singing psalms, and of attending the Methodist meetings: had on when he went away, and took with him a grey surtout, vest and pantaloons—black short bodied coat—striped jacket, red shirt and white do, home made flannel—old black hat—shoes with counters, the same as to the heel of boots. The above reward will be paid to whoever will return said runaway to the subscriber, in the town of Florida, on the Mohawk river, about 30 miles west of the city of Albany, or 30 dollars for information where he may be found, and in each case reasonable charges.

DANIEL M'KENNEY, Jr.

Florida, February 27, 1819."

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MILES'S COMPOUND EXTRACT OF

TOMATO.

OR, SUBSTITUTE FOR CALOMEL.

The proprietors of this article, after protracted and expensive research, believe they have obtained from the vegetable kingdom, a safe and certain substitute for calomel; at least so far as calomel exerts any beneficial effects upon the human system; an article free from all substances productive of deleterious consequences.

The action of this medicine upon the constitution, is universal; no part of the system escaping its influence. It is, however, upon the organs of secretion and excretion, that its great power is particularly manifested. From this, it will be seen to have a direct effect upon the biliary organs, and to be peculiarly adapted to the treatment of bilious fevers, and other diseases, in which a torpidity or congestion of the liver and portal circle prevail.

It is admissible in all cases, where it is necessary to clear the stomach and bowels. It removes obstruction, and excites a quick and healthy action of the liver and other glandular viscera of the abdomen. Being diffusible in its operations, it produces a free circulation in the vessels on the surface of the body, accompanied by a gentle perspiration. It does not exhaust like drastic purges; still, its action is more universal, and it may be often repeated, not merely with safety, but with great benefit. This becomes indispensably necessary in cases of long standing, for in their intense temporary impressions made by strong medicines, seldom, if ever do good, but tend to injure the stamina of the constitution.

It is cleansing and purifying to the system, acts in perfect harmony with the known laws of life, and is undoubtedly one of the most valuable articles ever offered for public trial or inspection.

This medicine may be had at Apothecaries' Hall, Main Street, one door above Fifth Street.

June 24, 22—tf A. MILES, Agent.

EMERY & HOWELLS,

Wholesale and Retail Grocers,—Manufacturers of Pine and Cedar Coopers' Ware and Washboards. Purchasers will find a large assortment of Groceries, choice Wine, Hops, Coopers' Ware, Washboards, Brooms, Brushes, Cordage, &c. &c.

No. 217 Main street, (west side,) between Fifth and Sixth, Cincinnati.

March 29th, 1837.

To Country Merchants!

BOOK AND PAPER STORE.

TAUMAN & SMITH, Publishers, Booksellers and Stationers, No. 150 Main, between Fourth and Fifth streets, Cincinnati.

Have a constant supply of Books in every department of Literature and Science, at reduced prices.

Country Merchants, and all others wanting BOOKS AND STATIONERY, at wholesale and retail, are invited to call before purchasing elsewhere.

School Books, in any variety and quantity, at Eastern prices.

Bibles of different kinds, from large quarto to 32 mo., plain, and elegant. All the Biblical commentaries, in common use, also a common variety of Hymn Books.

Miscellaneous Works, consisting of Travels, Histories, Biographies, Memoirs.

New Publications, on every subject of interest, regularly received, immediately after publication.

Blank Books, Slates, Slate Pencils, Copy Books, Letter, Writing and Printing Paper, and Writing Ink, Wafers, Sealing Wax, and every article of STATIONERY.

Book-Binders Stock, consisting of Leathers, Boards Gold Leaf, and all other Binding Materials.

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

A desirable Farm, of 320 acres, situated 8 miles from town, upon both sides of a M'Adamized road, having about one half in cultivation, the rest well timbered: also a large brick house, 40